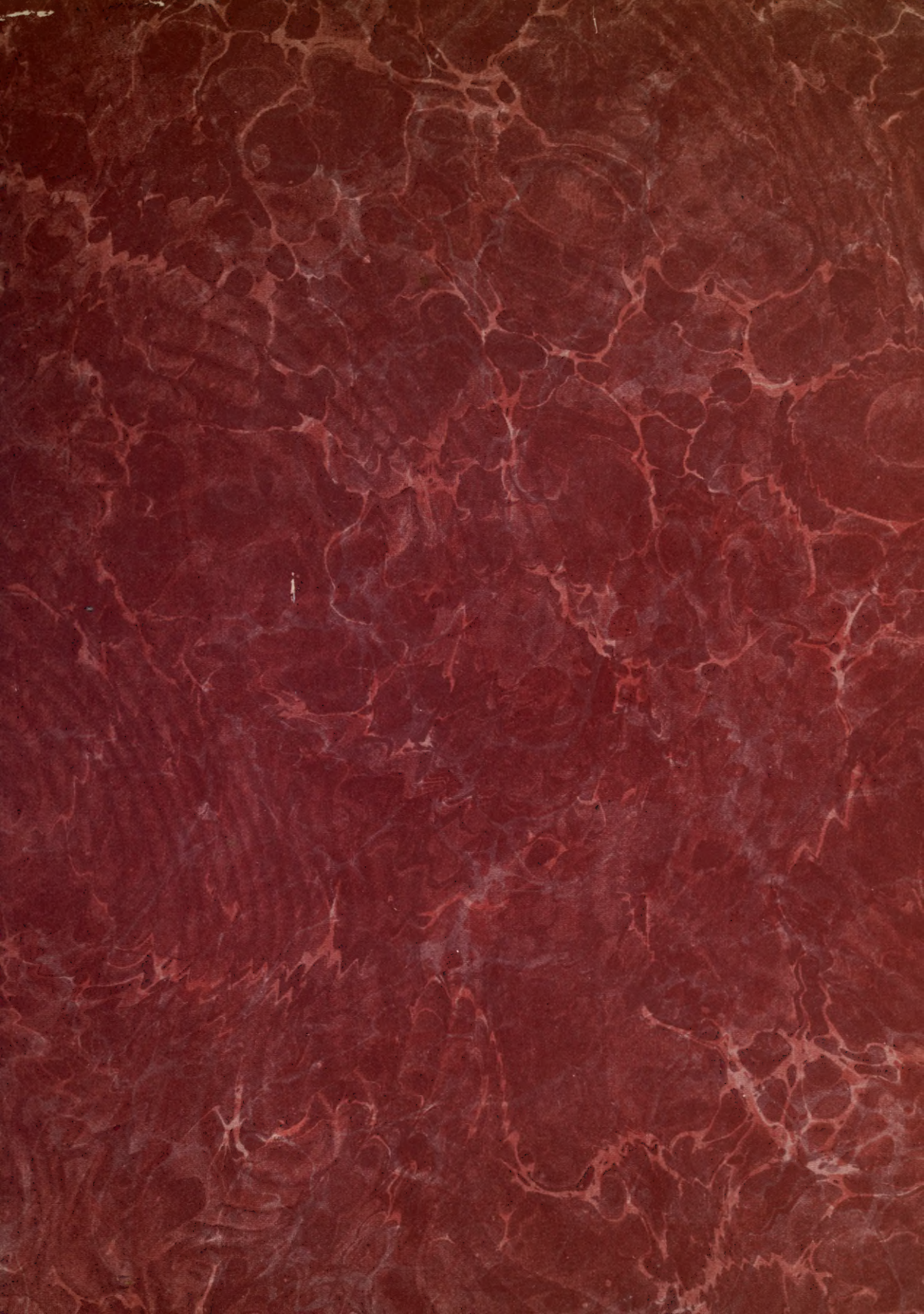


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**THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
KING EDWARD VII.**





HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
KING EDWARD VII.

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BY
H. R. WHATES

Author of "The Third Salisbury Administration," "Canada, the New Nation,"
etc. etc.

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VOL. III.

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QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

After the Drawing by P. Wilmshurst.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH

CHAPTER I.

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Another Visit to Dublin—The '65 Exhibition—Review in Phoenix Park—The Irish Church—Its Disestablishment—"Unmuzzling" Mr. Gladstone—Albert Edward's Busy Time—Installation as a Knight of St. Patrick—A Visit to North Wales—The Prince Opens Carnarvon Waterworks—On the Continent Again—The Prince Invested with the Order of the Black Eagle—A Few Days in Vienna—The Prince and Princess in Egypt—Scenes in Cairo—Up the Nile—Opening the Suez Dam—A Stay in Constantinople—Some Oriental Splendours—In the Sultan's Harem—On the Battlefields of the Crimea—The King of Greece Visited—Stays in Athens and Corfu—Home Again at Sandringham—An Ominous Year—The Illness of 1871—The Visit to Scarborough and its Consequences—The Prince is Stricken with Typhoid—His Sister's Self-Sacrifice—London Anxiously Watching—The Bulletins Contain Worse News—Between Life and Death—A Sad Coincidence—The Prince Rallies—His Recovery—A Private Service in Westminster Abbey—The Public Thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral—Incidents of Thanksgiving Day.

DURING the first five years of their married life the Prince and Princess of Wales paid an historic visit to Dublin and made together a tour in the Near East, which the Princess saw for the first time. The visit to Ireland with the Princess was the second State journey the Prince had made, for he was at Dublin as representative of Queen Victoria at the opening on the 9th of May, 1865, of the Irish International Exhibition. On this occasion he received a most hearty welcome. Whatever political disloyalty there was in Ireland none was exhibited towards the Prince. "It would have been very gratifying to the Princess," he observed in one of his speeches, "had she been able to accompany me, and I request

that you be assured that we look forward to another occasion when she will have the opportunity of appreciating the hearty welcome which my own experience leads me to anticipate for her." There was a ball at the Mansion House, given by the mayor and corporation in the evening, and the next day there was a review of troops in Phoenix Park, the Prince in the uniform of the 10th Hussars. Immense crowds gathered, and every opportunity was given for the Prince to be seen. There was no sign of disaffection; indeed, judging from the ebullient enthusiasm of the people, Ireland might have been the happiest and most prosperous portion of Queen Victoria's dominions. It was very far from that. The visit with the Princess took place in the year 1868, and

because of her presence was even more successful, regarded as a popular tribute of respect and good will to the future occupant of the Throne.

Questions of land tenure were again acute, and controversy raged fiercely on the subject of the Church of England in Ireland. The Government, through Lord Naas, introduced a peddling measure to deal with the first question; the days of bold

Fenian element. But if there was no relief on the land question the dawn had broken with regard to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, for in a debate on a motion to go into committee on its temporalities and privileges Mr. Gladstone had shown that his mind had moved towards Disestablishment.

We might, he contended, support a religious establishment to maintain truth,



THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION AT DUBLIN, 1865.

legislation on broad principles of equity between the landlords and the tenantry lay far ahead. Even this small instalment of justice proved so objectionable that means were found to get it shelved, and it was not carried farther than the second reading. Another Bill, by a private member, having security of tenure for its object, suffered a like fate. Parliament, in fact, showed the Irish people that Irish grievances would receive scant sympathy from them, so long as Ireland bore them with patience, as, on the whole, Ireland had done, save for the

but we did not support the Irish Protestant establishment for that purpose only, seeing that we also supported the Catholic College of Maynooth. We might maintain an established Church because its doctrines were those of the bulk of the people. But that was notoriously not the case in Ireland. We might keep up an established Church to supply the poorest class of the community with free and cheap religious teaching. But the Protestant Church in Ireland was the church of the rich. He trusted the time was not far distant when Parliament would take the question



THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES RIDING IN WINDSOR PARK.

of the Irish Church up ; and when it did he hoped that " a result would be arrived at which would be a blessing to all." This speech, coming from the author of the celebrated work in defence of established churches, was listened to with consternation by the Tories. They began to regret that they had " unmuzzled " Mr. Gladstone, to use Palmerston's phrase, by



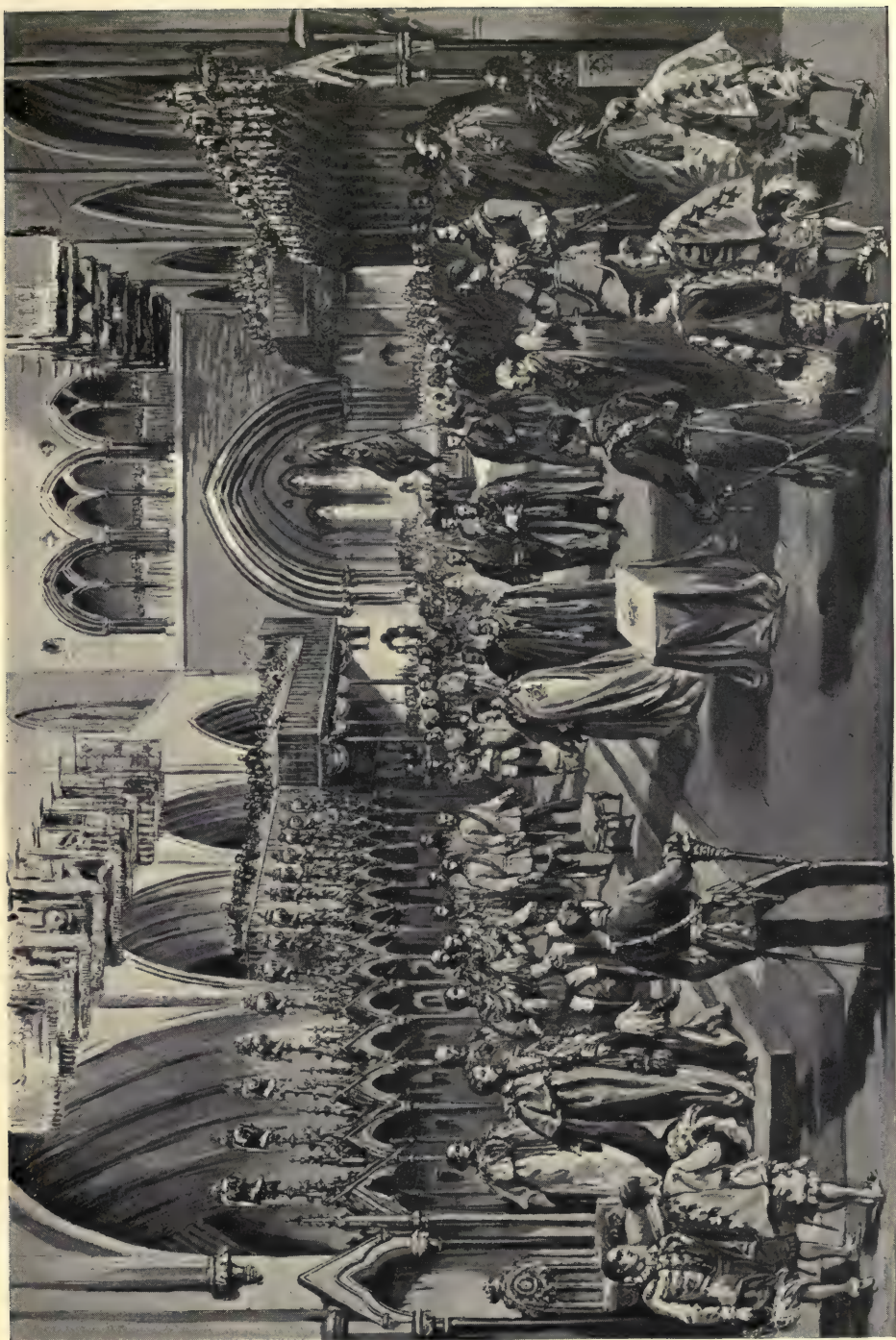
ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.
From a Drawing by Harry Furniss.

turning him out of Oxford. The matter was, however, shelved for a time, the " previous question " being carried by a vote of 195 to 183.

The Prince of Wales by this time knew Ireland fairly well, and he had gauged the kindly and generous nature of the people. He knew that whatever their political troubles, he had nothing to fear from them, and he requested that the use of troops to guard the streets in Dublin should be dispensed with. It was a bold proceeding and made timorous folk tremble, for

Dublin contained a very rough element and the police knew that Fenianism was active ; but the Prince was right in judging that the hostility of Ireland was not directed against the Royal Family, but rather against the English Parliament and its neglect of Irish affairs. The visit was marked by no untoward incident, and the Prince and Princess were intensely gratified at the interest and enthusiasm of all classes of the population.

" There were presentations and receptions," says *The Times* reporter, " and receiving and answering addresses, processions, walking, riding and driving, in morning and evening, military, academic, and medieval attire. The Prince had to breakfast, lunch, dine, and sup, with more or less publicity, every twenty-four hours. He had to go twice to races, with fifty or a hundred thousand people about him ; to review a small army and make a tour in the Wicklow mountains, of course everywhere receiving addresses under canopies and dining in state under galleries full of spectators. He visited and inspected institutions, colleges, universities, academies, libraries, and cattle shows. He had to take a very active part in assemblies of from several hundred to several thousand dancers, and always to select for his partners the most important personages. . . . He had to listen to many speeches sufficiently to know when and what to answer. He had to examine with respectful interest, pictures, books, antiquities, relics, manuscripts, specimens, bones, fossils, prize beasts, and works of Irish art. He had never to be unequal to the occasion, however different from the last, or however like the last, and whatever his disadvantage as to the novelty or dullness of the matter and the scene."



INSTALLATION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AS A KNIGHT OF ST. PATRICK IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

On this occasion the Prince was installed with all the ancient ceremony as a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick. The amiability of the Irishmen charmed the Prince. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that if he had not been of Royal birth he would have been a Home Ruler. The Home Rulers in later years claimed to have his sympathies on the strength of his known dislike of the policy of coercion and his disbelief in it as a method of government. On returning to England the Prince and Princess made a short tour

in the forest here the Prince suffered an accident, a frightened stag dashing into his horse and knocking both horse and rider down. Beyond a bad shaking and some bruises, the Prince sustained no harm and went through the day's sport. The Emperor of the French, who, we have already seen, had great gifts in getting interesting people about him, had a large party to meet the Prince and Princess, among them Moltke



THE ROYAL PALACE AT COMPIÈGNE.

Photo: Neurdein.

in North Wales, opened new waterworks at Carnarvon, and visited the traditional castle where the son of Edward I, the first Prince of Wales, was born on the 25th of April, 1284. The visit was paid on the anniversary of the birth, which gave occasion for felicitous speech-making. The Welsh national costume, which has now become quite rare, was worn generally in North Wales.

In the winter of 1868 the Prince and Princess went on the Continent, first to Paris, and then to Compiègne as the guests of Louis Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie. During a stag hunt

and Bazaine. After France the Royal couple went north to Denmark, and from there to Berlin, a fact that may be noticed as evidence that the little misunderstanding between the Heir to the British Throne and the Crown Prince of Prussia, owing to the German treatment of Danish claims in Schleswig-Holstein, had been removed as Queen Victoria had required. Signal evidence that this was so is afforded by the fact that on this visit the Prince of Wales was invested with the Collar of the Order of the Black Eagle, the highest of all German distinctions. Vienna was next visited, the Emperor Francis Joseph



Photo: Russell.

THE PRINCE'S FAMILY IN 1867.

Alexandra with Prince George (now H.M. George V.).

Albert Edward with the Duke of Clarence.

lodging his illustrious guests in the Burg, and entertaining them in brilliant style. A tour in the Near East had been arranged. Passing to Trieste at the end of January, the Prince and Princess found H.M.S. *Ariadne*, with a party of friends on board, in readiness to put to sea. They reached Alexandria, and on the 3rd of February, 1869, went on to Cairo, where they were received in great state by the Khedive of Egypt and the notabilities. It was the time of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and the Royal visitors had the opportunity of seeing the assembling of the multitude of pilgrims outside Cairo, and the start of the great procession, with its

escort of Khedivial cavalry, for the journey across the desert. A journey was then taken up the Nile in two dahabeeyahs, provided by the Khedive Ismail, and fitted as luxuriously as Oriental wealth and taste could devise.

That on which the Prince and Princess, and Mrs. Grey, the Princess's lady-in-waiting, had their quarters was named the *Alexandra*. A second dahabeeyah con-

veyed the rest of the party, and what with steam - towing craft and floating kitchens there was quite a flotilla. No expense was spared to make the journey enjoyable. But the weather was unpropitious. The Prince and his friends, however, had plenty of sport, and much work was provided for the taxidermist. Daily excursions were made from the banks, and the inhabitants showed the liveliest interest in their illustrious visitors. There was one incident which would have been serious but for

the alertness of the Prince, who detected at night a fire which had been started by the upsetting of a candle in one of the cabins of the dahabeeyah. The Princess and the lady-in-waiting were hastily taken ashore and the fire was



Photo: F. D. Bates, Stockport.

CAIRO: THE CITY OF MINARETS.

extinguished before much damage had been done. Returning to Cairo in March, the Royal party visited the Suez Canal, then in course of construction by M. de Lesseps, who accompanied them from the capital. Amid a scene of Oriental novelty the Prince publicly opened the sluices of the dam at

Tessum, and thus flooded the completed portion of the canal and effected a union of the waters of the Mediterranean with the Bitter Lakes. The visitors then journeyed to Gondokoro—to be renamed Ismailia three months later—by the canal, and thus got back to Cairo. Boarding the *Ariadne* once more at Alexandria they steamed to Constantinople, which the Prince had previously seen on his way back from the Holy Land. The glorious city was unknown to the Princess. From the *Ariadne* they passed to a splendid new yacht belonging to the Sultan and were taken to the palace landing-stage, where they were received by the Sultan in person and lodged in a suite overlooking the Bosphorus. Here they were entertained with a magnificence that was almost barbaric. "The meals," says an unnamed chronicler of the visit, "were all served on gold and silver plate



M. FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

studded with jewels; a band of eighty-four musicians played during dinner; every morning arrived gorgeous presents from the Sultan, including exquisite flowers and trays laden with fruits and sweets; while, at a clasp of the hand, black-coated chibouquejees brought in pipes with amber mouth-

pieces of fabulous value, encrusted with diamonds and rubies." A state dinner was given by the Sultan in the Dolma Bagtsche Palace, to which the diplomatic corps were invited; and this was said to have been the first of its kind at which Christians had been present and at which any minister of lower rank than the Grand Vizier had been allowed to seat himself at table in the presence of the head of the Ottoman world; but on these matters of Oriental etiquette we can pretend to no authority, and copy these statements of fact for what they may be worth. The Prince and Princess witnessed the passing in state of the Sultan to the Mosque Baschiktasch, a procession carried out with unusual splendour and impressiveness because of the presence of the Royal visitors. An unusual compliment was paid to the Princess of Wales, who, with Mrs. Grey, was admitted into the Sultan's

harem and made the acquaintance of the principal ladies of the Turkish Empire. A visit was paid across the Bosphorus to Scutari, the scene of the heroic labours of Florence Nightingale (who died in August, 1910) and her fellow-workers, and the burial-place of numberless victims of the mismanagement of the Crimean War. All the places of interest in Constantinople were seen, and we read of the Prince and Princess of Wales, as plain Mr. and Mrs. Williams, passing unrecognised through the bazaar and making purchases as ordinary tourists do. Farewell was taken of the Sultan on the 10th of April, and the Prince and Princess and their friends steamed to Sebastopol for the purpose of visiting the battle scenes

of the Crimea. At the historic fortress they were received by General De Kotzebue, who had been chief of the staff there during the siege, and in his company they went over the fields of Inkerman, Alma, and Balaclava, and were able to reconstruct in imagination the dramatic incidents of the investment of Sebastopol. Four days were spent here, and there was nothing lacking in the hospitality of the Russians and the good feeling of the peasantry. The Russian General and his staff were entertained on the Royal yacht, and loyal toasts were exchanged and speeches made which suggested that bitter memories of the war had passed away. On the way home a call was made at the Piræus, where the



THE SUEZ CANAL.



READING THE BULLETIN AT THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

Ariadne was boarded by the brother of the Princess of Wales, who had become King George of Greece, by consent of the Powers, and was now firmly seated on that none too comfortable throne. A three days' stay was made as guests of King George at Athens, the populace of the city taking the keenest interest in the family reunion. Thereafter the yacht went to Corfu, where a quiet week was spent by the Prince and Princess. The return home was made overland from an Italian port, and on the 12th of May the travellers ended a six months' absence by arriving once more at Sandringham. The Princess was thoroughly restored to health. To effect that restoration was one of the objects of the

journey. The summer was passed in the usual round of public and social duties.

The year 1871 was one of many anxieties for the Royal Family, apart from the course of events in France, of which we had a glimpse in the last volume, and the confusion in domestic politics. It was fraught also with serious annoyances, among them the squabble in Parliament and the country about the dowry of the Princess Louise. As we have previously shown, the Royal Family was under a cloud of unpopularity partly because of the secluded life led by Queen Victoria and the successive demands for financial provision for her sons and daughters. But there was no evidence that this unpopularity ex-

tended to the Prince of Wales. In the late autumn of this year the health of Albert Edward broke down. He had been on a visit to Lord Londesborough at Scarborough, and had returned to Marlborough House, but, feeling out of sorts, he went to his Norfolk home.

It was first observed on the 20th of November that the symptoms pointed to an attack of ty-

phoid fever, and public announcement was made on the 23rd that the Prince was suffering from that disease. The illness, it was said, had probably been contracted when the Prince was visiting Lord Londesborough at Scarborough, and "it was a significant coincidence," says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," "not only that Lord Chesterfield, who was staying there at the same time, had been attacked by and had quickly succumbed to the fever, but that six other guests of Lord Londesborough's had complained of being unwell. On the other hand, it was pointed out that a groom at Sandringham, who had not quitted the place, was smitten at



SIR JAMES PAGET.

Photo: Mayall.

the same time as the Prince, and that it was therefore to bad sanitation at Sandringham that the mishap must be traced. Day by day the nation read the various bulletins with growing anxiety, relieved only by the knowledge that the ever self-sacrificing Princess Louis of Hesse—a nurse of high technical skill—had come over to take charge of the sick-room. The

Queen, too, had at an early stage taken her place at the sufferer's sick bed. The Princess of Wales was herself suffering, doubtless from the same poison which had attacked her husband. Day by day the bulletins were eagerly scanned, not only in the newspapers, but by excited crowds at public places like the Mansion House and Marlborough House, where they were exhibited. After twenty-five days of suffering the Prince, who had shown signs of recovery, had a relapse, and then the worst was feared. The Prince it was thought must die, and the shock of the bereavement might be fatal to the Queen, whose health was already sadly impaired. Englishmen remembered

for the first time that only two precarious lives—one of which was flickering between life and death—stood between the country and a Regency. But what might a Regency portend? It had been fatal to the Monarchy in France; within the memory of living men it had nearly proved fatal to the Monarchy in England. When it was announced on the 9th of December that all the members of the Royal Family had suddenly been sum-

moned to Sandringham, securities in the Money Market, with the exception of Consols, fell considerably. Twice the physicians warned the Queen that the end was at hand, but at last, on the 14th of December—strangely enough the tenth anniversary of his father's death—the Prince made a rally, and the bulletins again became more hopeful. Prayers had been offered up for his recovery in every church in the Empire, and even the



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL ILLUMINATED ON THE NIGHT OF THE
THANKSGIVING SERVICE.

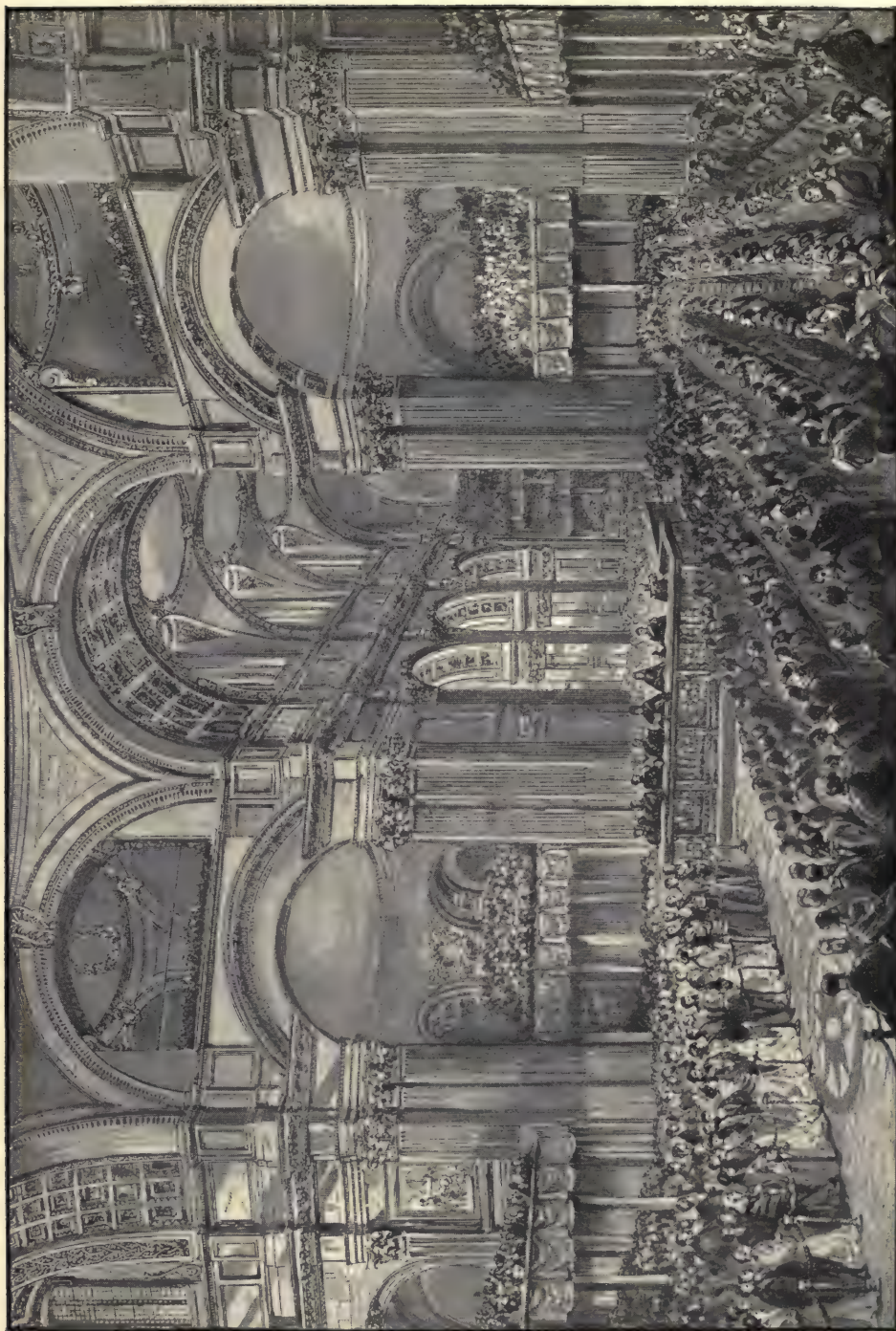
Republican societies had sent addresses of sympathy to the Sovereign. The heart of the people had gone forth to her and to the Princess of Wales in sincere and unrestrained sympathy, and as the year closed an official announcement was made which dispelled the gloom that had settled on all classes. It stated that, though Sir James Paget had not left Sandringham, the Prince was then (December 29th) progressing favourably. This was followed by a letter from the Queen to the Home Secretary, in which she said:—"The Queen is very anxious to express her deep sense of the touching sympathy of the whole nation on the occasion of the alarming illness of her dear son the Prince of Wales. The universal feeling shown by her people during these painful, terrible days, and the sympathy evinced by them with herself and her beloved daughter, the Princess of Wales, as well as the general joy at the improvement in the Prince of Wales's state, have made a deep and lasting impression on her heart which can never be effaced. It was, indeed, nothing new to her, for the Queen had met with the same sympathy when, just ten years ago, a similar illness removed from her side the mainstay of her life—the best, wisest and kindest of husbands. The Queen wishes to express at the same time, on the part of the Princess of Wales, her feelings of heartfelt gratitude, for she has been as deeply touched as the Queen by the great and universal manifestation of loyalty and sympathy. The Queen cannot conclude without expressing her hope that her faithful subjects will continue their prayers to God for the complete recovery of her dear son to health and strength."

The illness had at least one agreeable feature: it silenced criticism of the Royal

Family, and by causing apprehensions lest a Regency might become necessary, made the country realise how precious the life of the Prince was to the State. On the recovery of the Prince he returned to London and, with the Princess, attended a private service in Westminster Abbey, to offer thanks for his restoration to health. This service was held at the suggestion of the Dean, the Prince's friend and travelling companion in the East.

"I kept it a secret, except from the Canons," wrote the Dean. "We met them (the Prince and Princess) at the great western door; the nave, as usual, was quite clear. They walked in with me, and took their places on my right. I preached on Psalm cxxii. 1. The Prince of Wales heard every word, and has decided that it shall be published. It was one of those rare occasions on which I was able to say all that I wished to say. They were conducted again to the west door, and departed."

Meanwhile Queen Victoria had decided that there should be a State service, attended by herself, in St. Paul's Cathedral, and that the day should be set apart as one of national thanksgiving for the Prince's escape from death. The date originally fixed was the 20th of February [1872], but it was changed to the 27th. Says the writer already quoted: "The day was clear and bright, though cold, and a wintry sun shone on the splendid pageant, for which elaborate preparations had been made many days before. The demand for tickets to view the spectacle was unprecedented. Carriages were hired at fabulous prices, and writing on the morning of the ceremony to his daughter-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury tells her that when he had ordered a



THE SCENE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AT THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE.

brougham on the previous day at his job-master's he was told 'that every vehicle had been pre-engaged for weeks. Thoroughfares like St. James's Street were impassable, because for two days before the event they were blocked by crowds who had come to see the preparations.' In fact, as Bishop Wilberforce says in a passage in his Diary, London was 'quite wild on Thanksgiving Day.' By general desire the day was celebrated as a national holiday. As for the crowds in the streets along the line of route, they were said to number from a million to a million and a quarter of spectators, and the decorations far surpassed any similar display ever seen in London. The procession started from Buckingham Palace at five minutes past twelve o'clock, led by the carriages of the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Cambridge, and was composed of nine royal carriages, in the last of which the Queen was seen accompanied by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Her Majesty seemed to be in good health, and she looked supremely happy. The Prince was pale and rather haggard, but his bright and happy nature shone through a countenance radiant with gratitude, and he kept bowing all along the way to the multitudes who cheered him. The hearty reciprocal feeling between the Queen, the Prince, and the populace, which the shouts of such a vast crowd expressed, rendered the scene a magnificent demonstration of national loyalty to a popular Sovereign. At Temple Bar the Queen was met by the Lord Mayor and municipal dignitaries of the City of London, arrayed in their robes and mounted on white horses. Having alighted, the Lord Mayor delivered to and received back from the Queen the City sword, according to the

usual custom. But, contrary to precedent and to general expectation, the gates of Temple Bar were not closed against the Queen, so that it was unnecessary to present her with the keys. The Lord Mayor and his colleagues having remounted their steeds, preceded the Royal procession to St. Paul's. Precisely at one o'clock the Queen entered the Cathedral, through the pavilion erected upon the steps. Its approach was covered with crimson cloth, and it was ornamented with the Royal arms and with the escutcheon of the Prince of Wales. On it there was the inscription 'I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord.' Within the Cathedral the scene was imposing and impressive, for all who were exalted in station, high in official position, or eminent by reason of genius, talent, and public services comprised the congregation of 13,000 persons. Representatives of the Court, the Princes of India, the Colonies, the Houses of Parliament, the Episcopate, the Judges, the Lords-Lieutenant, and the municipal authorities of the provincial towns were especially prominent. The Queen was received at the Cathedral by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and by the officers of her household, who were already waiting for her. With the Prince of Wales on her right hand and the Princess of Wales on her left, the Queen, leaning on the Prince's arm, walked up the nave in a procession which was marshalled by the Lancaster and Somerset Heralds. The special service then commenced with the *Te Deum*, which was arranged by Mr. Goss for the occasion, and sung by a choir of two hundred and fifty voices. The voice of the Archbishop of Canterbury

was inaudible; but the choral part of the ritual was listened to reverently. The words of special thanksgiving were:—"O Father of Mercies and God of all Comfort we thank Thee that Thou hast heard the prayers of this nation in the day of our trial. We praise and magnify Thy glorious name for that Thou hast raised Thy servant, Albert Edward Prince of Wales, from the bed of sickness. Thou castest down and Thou

lifest up, and health and strength are Thy gifts; we pray Thee to perfect the recovery of Thy servant, and to crown him day by day with more abundant blessings, both for body and soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." Here there was a long pause, during which the dead silence of that vast hushed congregation was described by those present as being almost painful to the ear. Archbishop Tait, having pronounced the invocation, delivered a sermon which was striking for its brevity and its simple unadorned eloquence. He took for his text the words "Every one members one of another," and illustrated in a few apt sentences the Divine origin of family life and of the State and of the Church, which, he said, was but the family and the State in relation to God. The illness of the Prince



ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

By George Richmond, R.A.

By Permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

had given a fresh meaning to this conception. Hence "such a day," observed the Archbishop in his concluding sentence, "makes us feel truly that we are all members one of another." The religious ceremony ended at two o'clock, and the Royal procession returned to Buckingham Palace amid thunders of artillery from the guns of the Tower and the Park.

With one exception the decorations

were successful. That exception—which was noted as curious at the time by the Queen—was at Ludgate Circus, where the triumphal arch, which ought to have been one of the grandest in the metropolis, was, by reason of backward preparation, almost a failure. It was not till the procession was nearly within sight that the scaffoldings were taken down, and the scene of confusion as the distracted workmen removed the poles delighted the mob amazingly. Unfortunately in the hurry, so much damage was done to the gorgeous gold mouldings of the arch that it presented the appearance of an ancient but freshly gilded ruin. As for the illuminations at night, they were not general—probably because many people did not regard a religious thanksgiving day as a fit occasion for such display. The centres of attraction

were the dome and west front of St. Paul's, the dome being picked out by a triple row of coloured ship's lanterns. The cathedral itself stood out in lurid splendour when transient shafts of lime-light and the fitful glow of the red light on the gilded ball fell on the building. Two days after the ceremony the following letter was published in the *London Gazette* :—

“ BUCKINGHAM PALACE,

“ February 29th, 1872.

“ The Queen is anxious, as on a previous occasion, to express publicly her *own* personal *very deep* sense of the reception she and her dear children met with on

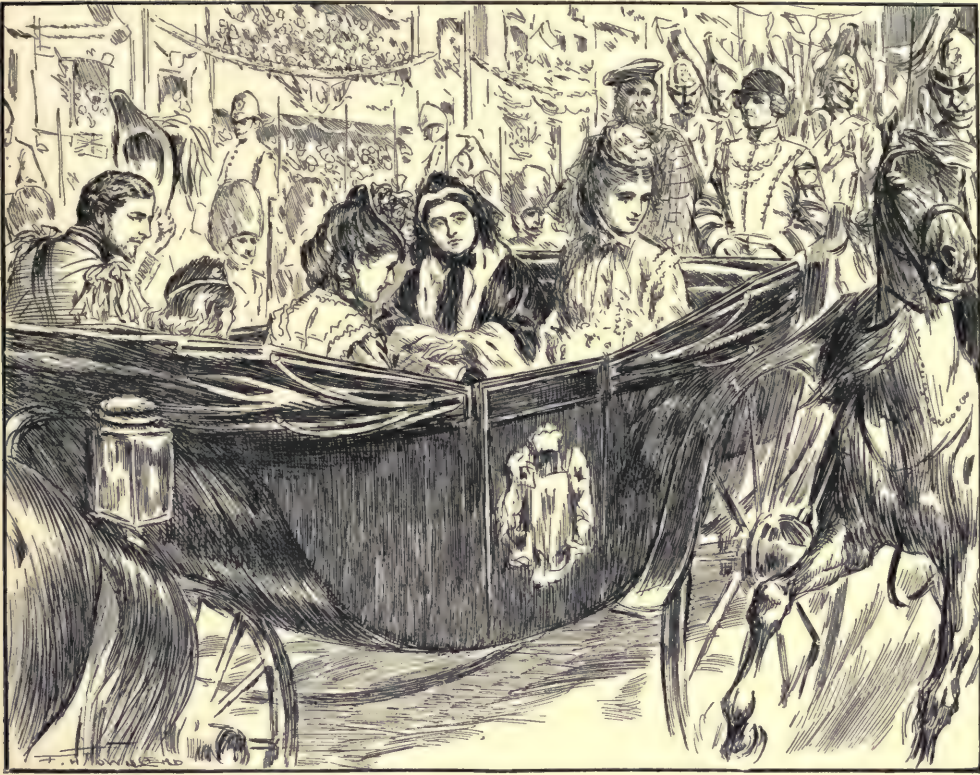
Tuesday, February 27th, from millions of her subjects, on her way to and from St. Paul's.

“ Words are too weak for the Queen to say how very deeply touched and gratified she has been by the immense enthusiasm and affection exhibited towards her dear son and herself, from the highest down to the lowest, on the long progress through the Capital, and she would earnestly wish to convey her warmest and most heartfelt thanks to the whole nation for this great demonstration of loyalty.

“ The Queen, as well as her son and her dear daughter-in-law, felt that the whole nation joined with them in thanking God



THANKSGIVING DAY, FEB. 27TH, 1872. THE ROYAL CARRIAGE IN FLEET STREET.



RETURNING FROM THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE.

for sparing the beloved Prince of Wales's life.

"The remembrance of this day and of the remarkable order maintained throughout, will for ever be affectionately preserved by the Queen and her family."

As the present writer observed in a slight sketch of King Edward VII., published at the time of the Coronation: "A long and dangerous illness often has a profound effect upon a man's character. If it does not deepen and quicken the moral sense it is not unfrequently followed by a permanent diminution of physical energy and love of life." That the illness made the Prince more thoughtful and sympathetic, arousing into greater activity

the religious instincts of his nature, strengthening his grasp of the issues of human existence and stimulating his interest in questions of hygiene and the warfare between science and preventible disease, was apparent to his intimates. A new note is henceforth audible in his speeches. But the illness was not succeeded for long by physical apathy, or by that indefinable mental *malaise* which afflicts many sufferers from typhoid for months and even years after recovery from the malady. The seclusion in which Her late Majesty lived until within a few years of her death threw upon the Prince of Wales much ceremonial and other work which could not be put aside.

The year 1873 saw him again in the full tide of State activity. In May he was at Vienna as the Queen's representative at the International Exhibition, and later in the year he received and entertained the Shah of Persia, giving that Potentate a reception on which neither money nor personal attention was lacking. In the following year he and the Princess visited Russia, attending the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh and the Grand Duchess Marie, and taking part in the splendid social and military spectacles which

marked that event, establishing also relations with the Russian Royal House, which during his later years Edward did so much to strengthen. On the return to London they gave a great fancy dress ball at Marlborough House, which is remembered still as one of the most brilliant affairs of its kind during the Victorian reign. The Prince, by the way, appeared as Charles I. and the Princess as a Venetian lady, and pages might be filled with the names of, and the characters assumed by, the more distinguished of the guests.



THE MARKET PLACE, VIENNA.

Photo: O. Kramer, Vienna.

CHAPTER II

THE TOUR IN INDIA

The Tour Discussed—The East India Company and what Followed—Some Reasons for the Tour—Imperialism in Embryo—£60,000 Asked for the Tour—Trouble in Parliament—A Hyde Park Demonstration—Disraeli Defends the Vote—Sir Bartle Frere Appointed—His Logical Letter to the Government—The Prince's Suite—Lord Mayo Assassinated—The Start from London—On Board the *Serapis*—Lord Northbrook's Work in India—The Plan of the Tour—Ceremony at Aden—Arrival at Bombay—A Gorgeous Spectacle—A Speech by the Prince—The Birthday Durbar—The Native Princes Delighted—The Political Value of the Visit—A State Banquet in Bombay—Cholera in the Presidency.

NOT the least important event in the life of Edward VII., whether from the personal point of view or from that of its effect upon the solidarity of the Empire, was the tour he made through India in 1875 as Heir Apparent. Such a visit had been contemplated for him by the Prince Consort when he was quite a youth, and that this should be so is striking evidence of the prescience and breadth of view of that remarkable man. It appears that he had discussed the matter with Lord Canning, perhaps the most distinguished statesman who had served the Crown in the great Dependency in the East. No member of the English Royal Family had been in India. Our Empire in the East had grown by conquest and political accident rather than by design. The Crown had had little initiative in its creation. That had been due to the courage and enterprise of the commercial class rather than to sovereigns and statesmen. The men of business from whose activities the East India Company had sprung into life had built up there a great system of administration, based, it is true, upon military power, but yet comprising within

itself the principles of stable government. They had brought into being a powerful army, officered by a class of Englishmen which had produced several men of military genius, and they had created an administrative system which, on the whole, was entitled to the admiration of the world. Step by step, now by diplomacy and now by the sword, they had extended the area of the Company's rule until it covered the major portion of the peninsula. That abuses had been committed in the process is a matter of history. The marvel is that they should have been so few and so small relative to the magnitude of the Company's operations and the remoteness of many of the Company's officers from the centres of control in India and in London. In the first of these volumes there was sketched in brief outline the conquest of the Punjab and of Sind. With these events the Company reached the zenith of its power. In 1857 the Mutiny burst with the sudden violence of a tropical thunderstorm. The reader will have appreciated the calamitous nature of that tremendous revolt, and he will already be aware of the supersession of Company rule by the Crown. We took no revenge

in India once the country had been cleared of the bands of marauders left after the disbandment of the rebel forces. The policy of Queen Victoria had been one of clemency and constructive statesmanship. Under Viceroy's wise, able and high-minded, the administrative system taken over from the Company had been re-formed and perfected, and side by side with the re-organisation of the native army there had been built up a Civil Service consisting of highly trained English gentlemen, remarkable as a body not less for their skill than for the high qualities of character which they brought to the work of governing an alien people. In these circumstances a new India had arisen, and though it cannot be pretended that the Indian princes and peoples accepted the English overlordship without mental reservations, they were, on the whole, loyal and peaceful. One thing was felt to be lacking—personal contact with the Crown, which was the source of all authority in India. The English Sovereign was an abstraction among a people to whom for countless centuries Sovereignty had been a personal reality invested with absolute power and furnished with every appurtenance of State and magnificence. It was this personal link between India and the Crown which the visit of the Prince of Wales was expected to supply. Queen Victoria could not go herself. The circumstances of her life—her widowhood, her advancing years, her inability to be absent from the centre of affairs for a long period—were such as to make her presence in India impracticable. The Sovereign could not go, while the future Sovereign not only could go, but was anxious to go. He had already seen

something of the East, and had succumbed to its glamour and its fascination, and he had by this time formed a conception of his destiny as a ruler in Asia as well as in the West. It had long been his earnest wish—the dream of his life, as he himself said—to visit India. It is the realisation of that dream that has now to be recorded.

Lord Northbrook was Viceroy of India in 1875, and the late Marquis of Salisbury Secretary of State for India. The announcement of the projected tour was made to the Indian Government by the Secretary of State on the 16th of March, 1875, and was received with much interest both in India and in this country. At home, however, it excited mingled feelings and a good deal of criticism which it is now difficult to understand. Five-and-thirty years ago we had not become an Imperial people in sentiment. The education of our race may not, in that respect, be yet complete; in the early 'seventies it had but just begun. Under the influence of Radical thought the tendency of the nation was to concentrate attention upon its internal affairs—to keep aloof as far as may be from European complications, and to let the Empire drift as it might. There was a strong party in the State which was convinced that the Constitutions that had been given to the Colonies were but preliminary steps to severance, and whose view was that there was no appreciable advantage either to India or ourselves in holding that vast region and bearing the burdens and perils of its overlordship. The upper classes alone, and not all of these, had formed ideas of the Imperial greatness and destiny of these islands, though the flag of the Sovereign floated

over broad possessions in every quarter of the globe. Taken as a whole, the aristocracy thought of the oversea dominions chiefly as providing opportunities for careers for their younger sons rather than as regions ruled and peopled for all time by men of our race in intimate and indissoluble partnership with the parent stock in these islands. Those sections of the commercial classes which traded with India and the Colonies had broader conceptions of Empire and some grasp of the principle of Imperial unity; but the mass of the population was indifferent, if not hostile. Nor is it surprising that this should be so, for the population was utterly uneducated save for such instruction as a small proportion of it obtained in the elementary voluntary schools, where geography and history were so little taught that it might almost be said that they were not taught at all. The outlook of the populace and of popular political leaders was therefore narrow. It has taken forty years of elementary education, combined with the cheapening of travel and harsh economic conditions which have driven the bold and adventurous to seek their bread across the seas, to produce the citizen of our own day, who has begun to think of himself as a citizen of Empire rather than of these islands alone, and has only just begun to do that.

This lack of education in geography and history has to be remembered if the

attitude of our fathers towards the visit of the Prince of Wales to India is to be understood and forgiven. Moreover, the country was passing through a phase of feeling which it would be exaggerative to describe as one of disloyalty to the

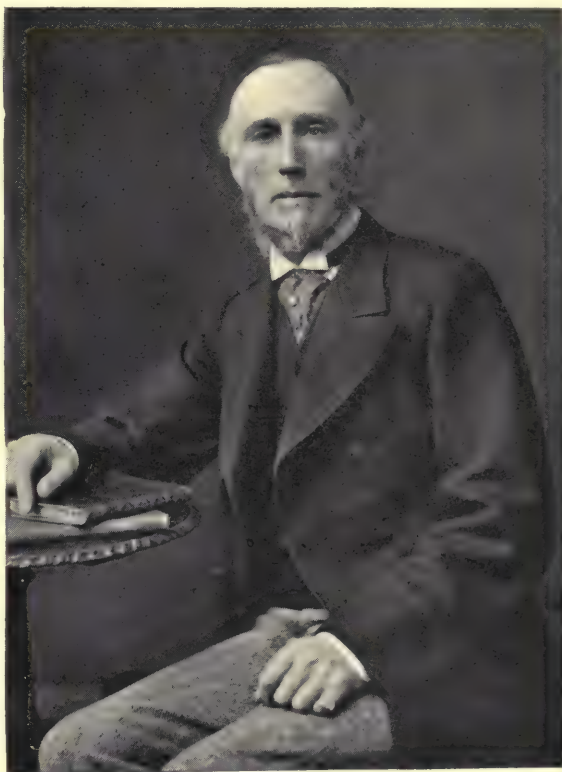


Photo: London Stereoscopic Co.

LORD NORTHBROOK.

Crown, but which may with accuracy be said to be one of critical dislike of any Royal action which meant a call upon the public purse. The nation had made what it felt to be very generous provision for the maintenance of the Royal households, and there was a general idea that the secluded life led by Queen Victoria had enabled her to amass wealth more than sufficient for any extraordinary expenses which

Royal journeys, either for political or personal reasons, or a combination of both, might entail. When, therefore, it became known that the House of Com-

sea journey and the consequent movements of warships was put as high as £52,000. The Council of India had passed a resolution authorising the charging



QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER LADY-IN-WAITING.

mons would be asked to vote £60,000 for the personal expenses of the Prince's tour, there was an outcry among the Radicals of the towns. Nor did this sum represent the whole cost, for the Admiralty estimate of the expense of the

upon the revenues of that country of all expenditure attendant upon the reception and journeys of the Prince, and the estimate of the amount needed was put at £30,000. Technically, the visit was not to be a "State visit," which it might have been, and perhaps ought to have been, and would have been had Queen Victoria been less tenacious of her own ideas in such matters; and as the journey was to be made as Heir

Apparent, not as representative of the Crown, the critics assumed that it was to be merely a pleasure trip, devoid of political purpose, and therefore unfruitful save to those who shared the Prince's jaunt. The tour

presented itself to the Radical imagination as a colossal extravagance. Men were aghast that a Prince in possession of an income of over a hundred thousand a year (including the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall) should come to the nation through the Ministry for £60,000

mons, and thirty-three members went into the lobby with Mr. Fawcett, afterwards Postmaster-General, against the grant. The general sentiment of Parliament, and also of the upper and middle classes was, however, that it was meet that the Prince of Wales should visit the



DISRAELI SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

for his personal expenses for what seemed to them to be nothing but idle and luxurious junketing. The Republican element got up a demonstration at the Reformers' Tree at Hyde Park to protest against the vote, just as the Socialists of our own day would probably do in similar circumstances; and speeches were made and resolutions passed which must have been distinctly unpalatable in Court and Government circles. There was some opposition also in the House of Com-

mons, and thirty-three members went into the lobby with Mr. Fawcett, afterwards Postmaster-General, against the grant. The general sentiment of Parliament, and also of the upper and middle classes was, however, that it was meet that the Prince of Wales should visit the Asiatic dominions of the Crown and make the acquaintance of the feudatory princes, and should do these things in such state and magnificence as would impress the people of India with a sense of the majesty and splendour of the Sovereignty which he was to inherit. Mr. Disraeli, who was then Prime Minister, put this view of the projected tour before the House in one of those speeches of sparkling rhetoric which none could fashion with a more glittering effect. His ornate ora-





HENRY FAWCETT, THE BLIND M.P.

tory appealed to the sluggish imagination of the people of England and softened the anger of the parsimonious malcontents. The plain prose of Mr. Fawcett and his Radical friends was poor and drab by contrast with the gorgeous colouring of Disraelian speech, and after the debate in the House the mood of the democrats changed. After all, the Prince was Heir to the Throne, and he was personally popular; if it were really true that he was going to India to have a thoroughly good time and enjoy himself to the full, rather than consort with statesmen and tiresome people and suffer boredom all the hours, why shouldn't he enjoy himself?

That was the newer attitude, and if Mr. Disraeli had chosen to ask for an additional ten thousand he would probably have got it. Mr. Disraeli endeavoured to make out that the relations of the Prince of Wales to the Independent Princes whom he would visit as guest were and would be of so delicate a nature that there had been great difficulties on questions of etiquette, complicated as they were by Oriental custom. There had therefore been a long and anxious correspondence, the outcome of which was that it had been decided that the Prince should appear in India "not as the representative of Her Majesty, but as the Heir

Apparent to her Crown." The question of the position of the Viceroy, as representative of the Sovereign, had also had to be considered; and the suggestion was that, inasmuch as the Prince would not be the representative of Her Majesty, no difficulty could arise on that point either with the Viceroy or in the mind of the people of India, who might otherwise think that the Viceroy had been superseded. "No one," said Mr. Disraeli, "has been so anxious for this visit as the Viceroy himself, and no one has been more careful and fruitful in devising expedients which may secure for His Royal Highness a position which may satisfy India and himself." He defended the tour on the ground, among others, that it was part of the necessary education of the Prince; as indeed it was, for the time was passing when the Sovereigns of England could rule from a knowledge of England alone, and of England only in relation to the European system merely. We had become an Empire. If that was not a new fact in the 'seventies, national consciousness of the meaning of the fact was certainly new, and the Prince of Wales the first Heir Apparent in whose scheme of training for the occupancy of the Throne there was included a first-hand knowledge of the chief component parts of the Empire.

Sir Bartle Frere, one of the great Imperial figures of the Victorian age, whose splendid career was to be closed in South Africa in the succeeding decade under circumstances to be referred to hereafter, was chosen to accompany

the Prince. Sir Bartle Frere, who had just completed his sixtieth year, had had forty years' experience of official life in India, and had performed distinguished service as Commissioner in Sind. During the Mutiny he had played a prominent part on the diplomatic side of affairs, and as a member of the Supreme Council he had done a great work in helping forward the policy of social and administrative reconstruction which followed the assumption of direct rule by the Crown. On the completion of Lord Canning's Viceroyalty in 1862, Frere was made Governor of Bombay—a difficult position which he held with



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

SIR HENRY BARTLE E. FRERE.

much credit for five years, when he returned to England to serve on the India Council. A Mission to Zanzibar in 1872 resulted in a treaty which may be regarded as laying the foundation for that extinction of the slave trade in the islands and, on the African mainland which has since taken place; but this was a small incident in a crowded career. A man of lofty character and much charm of manner, his knowledge of India and his high personal qualities, apart from the regard which he had won among the peoples of India over a wide region of the Centre and the North, gave him exceptional fitness for control of the tour. Frere drew up the plan of the visit and became responsible for the expenditure of the £60,000. He speedily found that the sum would be insufficient if presents were to be given and accepted. The rule had been to prohibit the acceptance of presents, and therefore the giving of presents in return. But in this case the observance of a rule designed to prevent the corruption of officials clearly could not be maintained. We find Frere calculating the number of presents that would be given free, and writing thus to the Indian Government:—

“The average value of each ruler’s present is less than £175—certainly not a large sum for the descendants of an ancient line of princes to hope may be acceptable to the Heir Apparent of the Empire as a souvenir of such a meeting, and where this average is exceeded there is usually some obvious reason—*e.g.*, the Rajah of Kolapoor asks leave to call after H.R.H.’s name a hospital which he proposes to build at a cost of £30,000.

“Of course, to such a proposal no reasonable objection can be offered, and

when the young ruler asks H.R.H. to accept, as a personal memorial of a meeting which to the Rajah will be the great event of his reign, an ancient jewelled sword and dagger worth £600, some relic probably of the days of Sivaji, or of some other of the Rajah’s Mahratta ancestors, is he to be told to substitute something more trumpery because the English nation cannot afford to let the Prince give such a watch as he would at home give from his own purse to an Eton schoolboy, or a snuff-box such as he would leave with the locomotive superintendent of a Russian railway for driving H.R.H. safely from St. Petersburg to Moscow? Take again the case of the Rao of Cutch, whose well-governed State has been the secure home of the wealthiest of Indian traders, and the daintiest and boldest of Indian artists in gold and silver and steel, for centuries before the Dutch and English merchants obtained from his ancestors ground for their factories at the Cutch capital, and whose dynasty has since then, for more than a century and a half, never refused the reasonable request of an English political agent. . . . After hearing how the Rao and his predecessor have suppressed female infanticide when it had the religious sanction of ages, how he has founded female schools, and within the last three years gone further than the British Government required in coercing its subjects to give up slave-holding in African States, is this Rao to be told that £400 or £500 worth of his beautiful gold and silver work is too much for him to be allowed to offer to H.R.H. as a keepsake and a memorial of a visit from the ruler of one of the oldest, most orderly, and most loyal of the Indian States which have been in alliance with the English

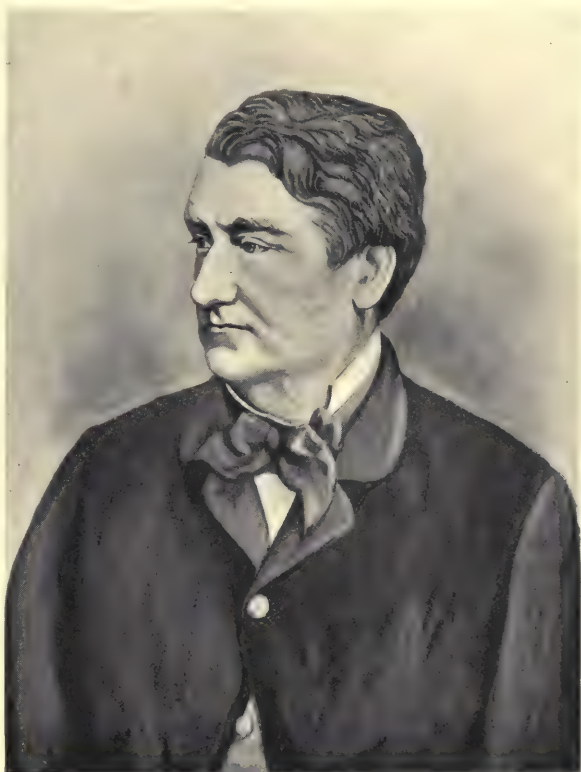
since they first appeared in Western India? "

Further money for present-giving was found by the Indian Government, it having been deemed unadvisable to approach Parliament for more. H.M.S. *Serapis* was fitted out for the journey, and among those who accompanied the Prince of Wales as personal friends were the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl of Aylesford, Earl Carrington, Colonel Owen Williams, and Lord Charles Beresford, then a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. The official Household comprised Lord Suffield, Colonel Ellis, Sir Dighton Probyn, and Mr. Francis Knollys (now Lord Knollys), the Prince's Private Secretary. Canon Duckworth, for many years Vicar of St. Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, London, accompanied the party as Chaplain. The medical attendant was Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Fayrer. Mr. Albert Grey (afterwards Earl Grey) went as Private Secretary to Sir Bartle Frere; and among the artists and special correspondents were Mr. S. P. Hall and Dr. W. H. Russell, the famous war correspondent of *The Times*, who afterwards wrote a volume, "The Prince of Wales's Tour in India." The *Serapis* was an Indian troopship, and she was specially and lavishly fitted for the journey.

Some apprehensions were felt as to the safety of the Prince. The assassination of Lord Mayo while on a special tour was still fresh in men's minds, and there

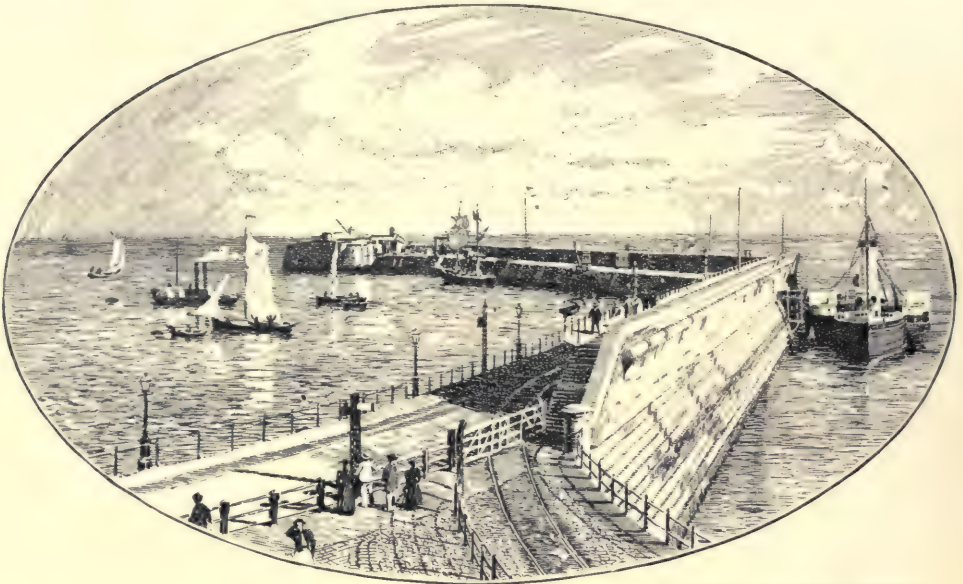
had been other instances of murders of men of official rank by solitary fanatics, probably acting for secret societies. But the fears were, happily, groundless.

The Prince of Wales started from London on the 11th of October, 1875.



LORD MAYO.

He had been spending the autumn with the Princess and the children at Sandringham, and had arrived at Marlborough House with them some days previously. The departure from his Norfolk home was attended by all the country-side, and was made the occasion for demonstrations of good will. We read of a parting gift to the Princess of a pair of valuable Corsican ponies and a small drag which



THE ADMIRALTY PIER, DOVER.

Photo : Frith & Co., Reigate.

was thereafter in frequent use by the Princess in the country lanes. On the Sunday before the 11th the Prince and Princess and the children attended morning service at Westminster Abbey, when Dean Stanley preached an appropriate and felicitous sermon. On the Monday the Prince called on the Dean to say farewell—an event recorded by the Dean in a letter to a friend:—

“On the Sunday night we had a message to say that the Prince and Princess of Wales would come to take leave of us at 3.30 p.m. the next day. They came about 4 p.m., having been detained by the members of the family coming to Marlborough House.

“They brought all the five children, wishing, the Prince said, to have them all with him as long as possible.

“They all came up, and remained about twenty minutes. Fanny was in the back library, and the children, after

being for a few minutes with Augusta, who was delighted to see them, went to her.

“The Prince and Princess remained with Augusta and me. A. talked with all her usual animation. They were both extremely kind. The Princess looked inexpressibly sad. There was nothing much said of interest, chiefly talking of the voyage, etc. As I took him downstairs, he spoke of the dangers—but calmly and rationally, saying that, of course, the precautions must be left to those about him. I said to him, ‘I gave you my parting benediction in the Abbey yesterday.’ ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘I saw it. Thank you.’

“Later on in the evening Augusta wished me to telegraph our renewed thanks and renewed good wishes to the *Castalia* at Dover. I did so, and at 11 p.m. there came back a telegram from him: ‘Many thanks for your kind message. God bless both of you! Just off for Calais!’”

The departure from London was witnessed by vast crowds, who lined the route from Marlborough House to Charing Cross station and behaved with an enthusiasm which showed that the tour was really popular. The *Serapis* was to start from Brindisi, and the suite had left some days previously. The Princess travelled with the Prince as far as Calais, the passage being made in the Royal yacht. A call was made at Athens upon the King and Queen of Greece, for whom the Prince had brought a number of cattle and horses from Sandringham as gifts from himself and the Princess; and the *Serapis* also put in at Alexandria, and the Prince went again to Cairo, where the eldest son of the Khedive, Prince Tewfik, was invested with the Order of the Star of India. The journey to Bombay was then made *via* the Suez Canal.

While the *Serapis* is crossing the Indian Ocean it will be convenient to refer to immediately antecedent events in India. The system of Central and Provincial government had been reorganised by Lord Mayo, and the financial and administrative relations of the various branches of government so adjusted as to result in smooth working. The policy of annexation had ended, but with a firm intimation that Great Britain would strenuously oppose any attempt to neutralise the outlying States in the North-west or to encourage any European power to intervene in their affairs. The assassination of Lord Mayo, already referred to, took place whilst he was visiting the convict settlement at Andaman Islands in April, 1872, and was, apparently, an isolated act of fanaticism unrelated to the general condition of India. His successor, as we have seen, was Lord Northbrook. There

was a serious famine in Bengal in the first year of his administration, and extensive and costly relief works had had to be organised; but this calamity had spent its force before the year of the Prince's visit, thanks to the energy and ability of the Indian officials, notably the late Sir Richard Temple, and to the generosity of England. A Mansion House Fund



THE DECORATIONS OF THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

produced £125,000 for the relief of the starving; and the British Government, Disraeli being then Prime Minister and the late Lord Salisbury Indian Secretary, asked the House of Commons for a loan of £10,000,000, which was granted—a fact that gave point to the criticisms in the Commons that the money of the poor Indian taxpayer, as well as that of the British, should be spent on the Royal tour.

Bombay was to be the scene of the landing of the Royal Party; thence the route was to be Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta,

Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, Agra—what names of historic and tragic import!—Gwalior, Nepal, Bareilly, Allahabad, Indore, Bombay again, and thus home *via* Egypt and the Mediterranean. Bombay was reached on the 8th of November after a pleasant and uneventful voyage (with a break at Aden for the purpose of opening a dispensary). The reception of the Prince was all that could be desired. "The natives, in their thousand different ways, according to their myriad superstitions," wrote Sir Bartle Frere, "looked to his advent, some with hope and affection, most with intense satisfaction, but all with an

indescribable amount of awe which fascinates and attracts them in a way we can hardly realise." More important chieftains had come in from the territories than Sir Bartle had expected—"some of them men whose ancestors would not have stirred a hundred miles from their capitals to save the lives of all the Governors-General who ever came to India." The first Address to the Prince on setting foot on Indian soil was read by a Parsee member of the Bombay Corporation. It set forth in glowing language the history and commercial importance of the City, and in terms of splendid eulogy welcomed the Prince as



THE TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Photo : Frith & Co., Keight.



ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE AT LAHORE.

Heir to the Throne who had come thither at the request of the Queen to make the personal acquaintance of the Indian peoples. The reply of the Prince was in the following terms :—

“It is a great pleasure to me to begin my travels in India at a place so long associated with the Royal Family of England, and to find that during so many generations of British rule this great port has steadily prospered. Your natural advantages would have insured a large amount of commerce under any strong Government, but in your various and industrious population I gladly recognise the traces of a rule which gives shelter to all who obey the laws ; which recognises no invidious distinctions of race ; which affords to all perfect liberty in matters of religious opinion and belief ;

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and freedom in the pursuit of trade and of all lawful callings. I note with satisfaction the assurance I derive from your address, that under British rule men of varied creeds and nations live in harmony among themselves, and develop to the utmost those energies which they inherit from widely separate families of mankind, whilst all join in loyal attachment to the British Crown, and take their part, as in my native country, in the management of their own local affairs.

“I shall gladly communicate to Her Majesty what you so loyally and kindly say regarding the pleasure which the people of India derive from Her Majesty’s gracious permission to me to visit this part of Her Majesty’s Empire. I assure you that the Princess of Wales has never ceased to share my regret that she was



AN INCIDENT OF THE TOUR: LUNCH IN THE CAVES OF ELEPHANTA.

unable to accompany me. She has from her earliest years taken the most lively interest in this great country, and the cordiality of your greeting this day will make her yet more regret the impossibility of her sharing in person the pleasure your welcome afforded me."

On the 9th of November—the thirty-fourth birthday of the Prince of Wales—a grand Durbar was held, the Viceroy and many of the high officials of the Indian Government receiving a great company of the Rulers and Chieftains of Western India, each of whom was greeted with the number of gun salutes necessary to his rank. The premier Ruler was the Maharajah of Mysore, whose salute was of twenty-one guns. The scene of the Durbar was one of indescribable Oriental magnificence—or would have been in-

describable but for the vivid pen of the late Sir William Russell, who wrote of it in such a way as to surfeit the colour-sense of the imagination and dazzle the eyes of the mind with the sparkle and glitter of the jewelled and gemmed costumes of the Indian potentates. Nothing the Prince had seen in the Near East, though the Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt had done their best to provide him with gorgeous spectacles in their capitals, approached in magnificence of colouring and dignity of ceremonial this wonderful Durbar. Western India had not seen its like since the great days before the overthrow of the native sovereignties. Thereafter there were individual visits to the Prince and return calls on the Rulers. It was impossible for the Prince to pay every

visit in person. He had but ten days to spend in Bombay and its neighbourhood. There was some disappointment about this. Says Sir Bartle Frere :

"I think the Prince's tact and kindly gracious manner have corrected the evil in all cases where he had an opportunity of talking to the Chief, and those who, like the Gaekwar and a few others, saw and spoke to him repeatedly were quite captivated. He told Major Henderson, after the first day or two, that he wished to talk to the visitors and not to be kept to the official silent pantomime ; and the result was at once apparent. . . . Even Henderson confessed that H.R.H. had found his way to the hearts of the chiefs, even if he had infringed the dusty rules of Durbar etiquette.

"The presents given by the chiefs considerably exceeded the Viceroy's estimate, though we stoutly insisted on all

reductions which the Viceroy thought necessary. No attempt could be made at equivalent returns. But the presents the Prince gave were remarkably well chosen, and he gave them all with a few words of explanation, which greatly enhanced the estimation of the souvenir, and which were often evidently more valued than the presents themselves. It was curious to see how chiefs, who would be studiously indifferent to the trays of 'Toshakhana' presents, listened to what the Prince said, and came or sent for repetition or explanation of the remark about hunting-knife, rifle, or portrait medal, which evidently gave the keepsake its value in their eyes."

At a State Banquet on the evening of the Durbar the Prince said :—

"It has long been my earnest wish—the dream of my life—to visit India ; and now that my desire has been gratified,



THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, CALCUTTA. *Photo : Kapp, Darjeeling.*

I can only say, Sir Philip Wodehouse, how much pleased I am to have spent my thirty-fourth birthday under your roof in Bombay. I shall remember with satisfaction the hospitable reception I have had from the Governor, and all here, as long as I live, and I believe that I may regard what I have experienced in Bombay as a guarantee of the future of my progress through this great Empire, which forms so important a part of the dominions of the Queen."

There were balls, picnics, excursions into the surrounding country. "No one stands work, heat, damp or exposure better than H.R.H.," wrote Frere, "and few stand them so well." His energy was abounding. The staff were worked almost to exhaustion. The local plan of the tour

was disarranged by an outbreak of cholera and varied by a run to Baroda, which was undertaken on Frere's responsibility, the Viceroy having returned to Calcutta. The Gaekwar had, as we have seen, but lately been deposed and a child ruler set up by the British Government under a maternal regency. The attitude of the population was doubtful, but all passed off well, and the Prince was given a reception of State by the Ranée, in which the people shared with unexpected enthusiasm. The visit had also a decided political effect; it strengthened the hands of the widowed Regent, and helped to reconcile her subjects to the change of authority which the Governor-General had imposed upon the State by giving proof of England's interest in it.



THE SACRED CITY OF BENARES.

Photo : Kapp, Darjeeling.

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER INCIDENTS OF THE TOUR

Service in Calcutta Cathedral—The Star of India—A Chapter of the Order—The Sights of Benares—Memories of the Mutiny—A Grand Review—Visit to Baroda—Disquieting Rumours—The Wonders of the Taj Mahal—The Prince's First Tiger—Broken Bones—Back in Bombay—Some Native Opinions—Universal Eulogies—Cementing the Empire—The *Serapis* Sails for Home—A Call at Cairo—Entertained by the King of Spain—A Tumultuous Welcome—The Queen's Speech of 1876—Empress of India—Parliament Discusses the Title—The Queen Proclaimed as Empress—Some Social Functions.

THE tour in India occupied from November, 1875, to March, 1876.

To describe it in detail would require a volume, and to summarise its leading incidents would be to fill these pages with repetition. One reception was so much like another in scenic richness, one hunting expedition so much like another in character, the visit to one Indian Court so much like the visit to another, both from the spectacular and political points of view, that the reader will probably be content to accept what has been written of Bombay and Baroda as illustrative of the entire journey.

On returning from Baroda to Bombay the Prince and his party rejoined the *Serapis* and steamed to Ceylon, making a passing call at the Portuguese settlement of Goa. In Ceylon he visited the holy places of Buddhism, looked over some of the grandest scenery the world affords, and on the tea plantations saw something of the life of European and Cingalese. From the island the *Serapis* proceeded to Madras, where the Prince had a reception almost equalling that which had been given him at Bombay. Calcutta was reached late in December, and Christmas Day spent there. The population of the City was apathetic, if not sullen, but as

the days passed, the mood changed to one approaching enthusiasm. On Christmas Day the Prince and the Viceroy attended divine service in the Cathedral, and thereafter there was a succession of receptions and public ceremonies. On the first day of the new year (1876) the Prince as High Commissioner for the Sovereign, held a Chapter of the Order of the Star of India, in a tent carpeted with cloth of gold, and amid a scene of Oriental splendour. Many distinguished Indians and Europeans were invested and there was a very large attendance of knights and Companions of the Order. From Calcutta the Royal party went to Delhi, *via* Benares, Lucknow and Cawnpore. The historic temples and the Golden Pool of Benares were visited, and at Lucknow the Prince laid the foundation-stone of the memorial there to the native soldiers who fell in the defence of the Residency during the Mutiny. Some of the native survivors of that memorable siege were paraded before him. At Lucknow, too, the Prince had some recreation in the jungle, and proved himself an adept in boar hunting, at which he had had some practice in the Bombay district, where, by the way, he had shot his first cheetah. At Cawnpore the Prince visited the cantonments and



THE CATHEDRAL, CALCUTTA.

Photo : Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

the well, of hideous and pathetic memory, where the bodies of the slaughtered English were cast. At Delhi there was a great review of the Indian Army and many native officers were presented to the Prince. "The marks of approbation and regard which the Prince has shown towards the native army," wrote Lord Napier of Magdala, the Commander-in-Chief, "are, politically, of the greatest value and have surprised and delighted all." From Delhi the Prince and his friends proceeded by train to Lahore, a journey of three hundred miles. A rumour had gained currency that an

attempt would be made to wreck the Royal train, and it was regarded as having sufficient credibility to justify Colonel Bradford, who had charge under Sir Bartle Frere of the arrangements for the safety of the Prince, to guard the entire route with men at intervals of fifty yards. At Agra the wonderful Taj was illuminated in honour of the Prince, and the spectacle of this beautiful tomb made so deep an impression upon him that he lingered there to see it in the mystic glory of the Indian moonlight. After Agra came Gwalior and Jeypore, where, by the way, the Prince shot his



THE RECEPTION AT BARODA.

first tiger. Three weeks were spent in sporting expeditions in this part of India. Notwithstanding the heat and daily exertions in the discharge of ceremonial duties, or in the pursuit of game, the Prince enjoyed capital health and suffered no mishap. Not all of his party were so fortunate. Mr. Grey, Sir Bartle Frere's private secretary, had to be invalided home at an early stage of the tour. Canon Duckworth, the Prince's Chaplain, suffered a serious illness from climatic causes, and at least two members of Royal hunting expeditions—Lord Carrington and Lord Napier of Magdala—sustained broken collar-bones in the chase. Though the Prince obtained much sport, greatly to the enrichment of his Sandringham trophies

of the chase, the tour was certainly not one of pleasure only, but, except for the three weeks' hunting spell at Naini Tal, of hard daily work. The list of institutions he visited, the receptions he held, the reviews he attended, the foundation-stones he laid, and of similar official duties discharged would fill several pages. Bombay was reached again in mid-March and the Prince left on the *Serapis* on the 13th of that month, having done about 8,000 miles of land travel, besides the sea journey round Southern India. He had seen more of the Dependency than many a high official who had spent a lifetime there in the service of the Crown, and he had made the personal acquaintance of more of the native Princes of India than



THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA.

Photo: Kapp & Co., Darjeeling.



THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA: THE INVESTURE OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

By Sydney P. Hall.

By Permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook P.C. D.C.L., LL.D., etc.

any single Viceroy had made. What was the political effect of the visit? All the evidence on that question suggests that the effect was great, though it would be easy to be misled by the language of Oriental compliment and extravagance

of the defence of the Lucknow Residency. "We judged that the Queen's son would be cold and haughty," said another, "because many of those who govern the land are rude and overbearing. We were surprised and delighted to find that this



THE PRINCE SHOOTING HIS FIRST TIGER.

employed by native writers and speakers. "When I saw that young man walking among the assembled Princes of India," observed a chieftain who had been at one of the Durbars, "and when I thought of him as our future King, he seemed to me to be like a God." "I thank Heaven I have lived to see this day and the Prince's face," said one of the veterans

great Prince treated us as gentlemen. His presence came upon us like heavenly rain falling on parched fields." Language of this kind may not in reality mean much more than that the Prince impressed Indians as he did people of his own race—as a kindly, tactful, generously-minded gentleman, superior to racial and social prejudices; but even that is a great deal.

A more restrained and perhaps truer note was sounded by a distinguished native at Baroda. "It was the privilege of his people," he said, "to see a Prince who was heir to a Sceptre, whose beneficent power and influence were felt in every quarter of the globe; which dispelled darkness, diffused light, paralysed the tyrant's hand, shivered the manacles of the slave, extended the bounds of freedom, increased the happiness and elevated the dignity of the human race. The visit to Baroda would never fade from their memory. The occasion would be commemorated by history and would ever be associated with a renovated strength and a renewed stability of the State." One of the native Princes, remarking upon the receptions of his class, said that if the visit did no more than draw these chiefs from their seclusion it would be worth to India ten times the sum which it had cost. The innumerable addresses presented to the Prince were couched in language of luxuriant eulogy and loyalty, and though no one would attach high political value to documents of this nature from Orientals on ceremonial occasions, it would be equally erroneous to regard them as lacking in sincerity. The ride



Photo; Wide & Klein, Madras.

GENERAL VIEW OF MADRAS.

of the Prince down the lines of the native troops at the great review of Delhi, in the company of the Ruler of Sind, was an act computed by an observer to be worth a million sterling, if the feelings of loyalty and interest it aroused can be measured in terms of money. Certain it is that the Prince made himself liked wherever he went, and not less among the natives of India than

among the English governing class. "I hope it will not be presumptive," said the Maharajah of Jeypore at one of the ceremonial gatherings in honour of the Prince, "when I say that your Royal Highness's happy temperament and deep sympathy for the native chiefs and people of India have made a deep impression on our minds; and it gives me unspeakable pleasure to be able to say that all of my brother chiefs and the native gentlemen I have met recently have one and all expressed similar feelings regarding your



THE ESCORIAL, MADRID.

Royal Highness; and I would devoutly express a prayer that the presence on India's soil of the Heir to England's Throne may be productive of the richest blessings to princes and people, and may have issues promotive of the highest welfare of this great country." "Happy temperament and deep sympathy" — in which, surely, lies the secret of the political effect of the tour.

The return journey of the *Serapis* was completed in April. A stay of several days was made at Cairo. At Gibraltar the Prince was met by the Duke of Connaught who had by then entered upon the military career in which he was to win no slight distinction. Several Spanish ports were visited and a flying journey was made to Madrid, where His Majesty King Alphonso XII. entertained his Royal guest with appropriate honours. One of the incidental consequences of the tour in the East was the establishment

of close personal relationships with the Spanish Monarchy—relations which were to bear fruit in later years in a matrimonial alliance between a niece of King Edward VII. and the present occupant of the Spanish throne. On arriving in English waters the *Serapis* was met off Plymouth by the *Enchantress*, with the Princess of Wales and the children on board, and the Prince left the *Serapis* forthwith and returned with them to the harbour. The home-coming was made the occasion for a tumultuous welcome wherever the Prince appeared in public.

Whatever ill-will the cost of the journey had aroused six months before, it had wholly subsided, except perhaps among a

few churlish people who refused to see that the visit could not have been other than fruitful of good political results. The public had followed the narratives of the Prince's progress in India with keen interest, and both by special correspondents and artists had been splendidly served. The *Serapis* had returned laden with gifts of all kinds, trophies of the chase, and animals ranging in size from an elephant to a monkey. A home was found for these in the Zoological Gardens, and the gifts, which were of high value, were put on public exhibition at South Kensington before being distributed between Sandringham and Marlborough House. One of the



PROCLAIMING QUEEN VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA FROM THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

Rooms at Marlborough House was converted into an Indian chamber and contains a rare and costly collection of Eastern treasures.

While the Prince of Wales was in India a surprise was sprung, both on the peoples of India and of these Islands, by an announcement in the Queen's speech on the 8th of February, 1876—a speech delivered by Her Majesty in person—that it was the intention of the Sovereign to take a supplementary title. In a passage in the speech referring to the presence of the Prince of Wales in India the Queen reminded Parliament that “at the time that the direct government of my Indian Empire was transferred to the Crown no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign. I have deemed the present a fitting opportunity for supplying this omission, and a Bill upon the subject will be presented to you.” The Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli, introduced the Bill in the Commons on the 17th of February, and instead of allaying public astonishment, fostered it by delivering a mysterious dissertation. It was needless to inform the House, he observed, that the change contemplated by the Queen referred to India. At the time of the transference of the government of India to the Crown by the East India Company the propriety of some addition to the Royal style and titles had been considered; but, though not then acted upon, the idea had not been abandoned. Continued Disraeli, “Since that period—since the transfer of the direct government of India to the Queen—the interest felt by the people of this country in India has greatly increased. It has become every year deeper and wider. I remember when I first entered this House—now

about forty years ago—that there were, I believe, even Members of Parliament who looked upon India as a vast country which, generally speaking, was inhabited by a single and subjugated race. But since then information has been so much diffused among all classes of our countrymen on the subject of India, that even those who have the most ordinary knowledge are now well aware that India is an ancient country of many nations; that it is peopled by various and varying races, differing in origin, in language, in religion, in manners, and in laws—some of them highly gifted and highly civilised, and many of them of rare antiquity. And this vast community is governed under the authority of the Queen, by many sovereign princes, some of whom occupy thrones which were filled by their ancestors when England was a Roman province.” He then alluded to the happy consequences of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, where “his demeanour and conduct had been such that it is not his birth only which qualifies him for an Imperial post.” Now, therefore, was the time for bringing the original intention of the Queen's Ministers into effect. The proposed Bill, following the precedent set by George III. at the time of the union with Ireland, would enable the Queen to exercise her high prerogative, and proclaim such addition to her style and title as she might deem expedient and proper. This step would give great satisfaction to the princes and natives of India, who were looking forward to some act of this kind with excitement and interest, and by various modes had conveyed to Government their desire that such a policy should be pursued. “I cannot myself doubt that it is one which will be agreeable

to the people of the United Kingdom, because they must feel that such a step gives a seal, as it were, to that sentiment which has long existed, and the strength of which has increased by time, and that is the unanimous determination of the people of this country to retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And that will be an answer to those mere economists and those foreign diplomatists who announce that India is to us only a burden and a danger."

Mr. Lowe assailed the proposal on the ground that the Colonies had a right to be honoured equally with India and suggested that the Crown should not load itself with titles which it could not be sure of retaining. The Crown had almost lost India during the Mutiny, and the day might come when India would really be lost to us. Mr. Disraeli reminded his critic that by the Act of Union the Colonies had been expressly declared parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and he professed indignation at the possibility of the loss of the Dependency. Mr. Lowe was "the only gentleman in the House who would have offered an argument of that kind; he was a prophet, and always a prophet

of evil." He would not say what the Royal title was to be; that would be an infraction of the Royal prerogative.



LORD LYTTON PROCLAIMING QUEEN VICTORIA EMPRESS OF INDIA AT DELHI.

In these circumstances people leaped to the conclusion that there were personal reasons, other than those connected with high politics in India, which lay behind the wish for a new titular dignity; and it was rumoured

that the Queen was to be Empress of India because the Duchess of Edinburgh, as daughter of an Emperor, had claimed precedence over her sisters-in-law in the English Court. On moving the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Disraeli announced that the title would be "Empress of India." Outside Court and Ministerial circles the Bill was distinctly unpopular; but everything proposed by a Ministry is unpopular with an Opposition in the House and the country, and it is obvious that much of the disfavour was due to party spirit as well as to a lack of political imagination. England was Radical at heart, at least in the great centres of population, despite the ascendancy which Disraeli had gained over the Conservative party and a section of the democracy by his scintillating rhetoric and his courage and skill as a Parliamentary leader; and the people thought, or party politicians in Radical clubs professed to think, that anything savouring of Imperialism was a political iniquity and that Mr. Disraeli and the Court had conspired to convert the English monarchy into a species of personal sovereignty which would rule directly and keep Parliament in due subserviency. All that seems very ridiculous now, so sharp are the changes in the moods of nations. People who knew India were almost without exception in favour of the additional title, not because of the added dignity of the Sovereign alone, but because they knew that the assumption of the title would give to the Indian peoples a sense of the reality of her sovereignty over them—would, in fact, make her and her successors actual Rulers of India. An untravelled English public, which knew next to nothing of Indian problems, and

understood nothing of the idiosyncrasies of the Indian peoples, could not be expected to appreciate this view. Nor, for the matter of that, could the House of Commons—a more stolidly British House than it now is; for the fashion of visiting India during the recess had not yet arisen in Parliamentary circles. Mr. Gladstone expressed the feelings of the opposition in a speech of much dignity. "I feel with the right hon. gentleman—indeed, I feel a little more than the right hon. gentleman," he said, "the greatness, the unsullied greatness, of the title which is now borne by the Queen of England. I think I use the language of moderation when I say that it is a title unequalled for its dignity and weight, unequalled for the glory of its historic associations, unequalled for the promise which it offers to the future among the titles of the Sovereigns of Europe, among all the States and nations of the earth. Sir, I have a jealousy in touching that title, and I am not to be told that it is a small matter. There is nothing small in a matter, in my judgment, which touches the honour and dignity of the Crown of England."

The debate stimulated rather than allayed the hostility outside the House, and Lord Hartington—the late Duke of Devonshire—moved an amendment that while willing to consider a measure to enable the Queen to make an addition to the Royal style and title, the House deemed it inexpedient to impair the ancient and royal dignity of the Crown by the style and title of Empress. Though this was defeated, Mr. Disraeli bowed to the storm by giving an assurance that the Queen would in no circumstances assume the title of Empress in England and that Princes of the blood Royal would never



Photo: Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

THE THRONE ROOM, GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

be designated as of the blood Imperial. The debate on the third reading was animated, and Mr. Disraeli thought it necessary to say that there were grave political reasons why the Bill should pass, among them the fact that the frontiers of Russia were only a few days' march from those of the Queen in India. The title therefore was, in his mind, a bulwark against Russian aggression; and a Russian invasion of India was then, and for many years after, thought to be a political and



Photo: Elliott & Fry.
LORD ROSEBERY: AN EARLY
PHOTOGRAPH.

military certainty of the near future. In the House of Lords, says the writer of "Cassell's Illustrated History of England," the second reading of the Royal Titles Bill "was carried without a division, after Lord Salisbury had parried to the best of his ability the caustic remarks of the Duke of Somerset on 'the cheap defence of nations,' as exemplified by Mr. Disraeli's assertion that England could be defended against Russia by making the Queen an Empress. On the third reading, Lord Shaftesbury moved an address to the Crown entreating the Queen to assume some title less distasteful to her subjects

than that of Empress—a proposal objected to by Lord Cairns in an argument of much learning and deliberative force, and applauded by Lord Rosebery in an amusing speech, which described the title as 'labelled *For external application only*.' Even yet there were stumbling-blocks thrown in the Premier's way. Mr. Fawcett, in the Lower House, moved an address to the Crown similar in purport to that of Lord Shaftesbury, which Mr. Disraeli shelved by declaring his inability to give him a day for the debate, assisted by Lord Hartington, who admitted that it was inexpedient to pursue the subject any further—a declaration which gave considerable offence to the Radical section of the Opposition. Nevertheless, when the proclamation of the new title announced that it was to be used, not in India only, as Mr. Disraeli had promised, but "in all instruments, except those not extending in the operation beyond the United Kingdom," there was a great outcry, and Sir Henry James moved "that the use of the title be restricted to India." When his motion came on for discussion there was a very acrimonious debate, in which Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gathorne Hardy, supported by the unexpected alliance of Dr. Kenealy, were chiefly conspicuous. After several members had spoken, amidst much interruption, Mr. Disraeli rose and, speaking with but little of his usual animation, thanked the Opposition for the course they had taken, because it had considerably increased his majority. In the end, Sir Henry James was defeated by 108. Nearly a fortnight before, the proclamation of the new title had been made in London and Edinburgh, and it was received everywhere with little hostility, though with little enthusiasm."



Photo : Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

PROCLAIMING QUEEN VICTORIA EMPRESS OF INDIA: ANOTHER VIEW.

It is a little difficult at this distance of time to understand why there should have been so much fuss about a title such as would be suitable for a Ruler of India ; but we live in days when its suitability has been thoroughly tested, and so far no evidence has been forthcoming of its unsuitability. All the evidence suggests that the assumption of the title and its use by Queen Victoria, King Edward and his present Majesty, have done something to consolidate our authority in India, at any rate among the native princes of the Dependency. Whatever time may have in store for the world in the matter of the English overlordship of the Peninsula, time has proved that the politicians of the 'seventies need not have disturbed themselves about this addition to the title of the English Crown. To them it had, in the language of Lord Shaftesbury in the Upper House, "an air military, despotic, offensive, and intolerable," and seemed to be, as the *Saturday Review* said, "a vulgar and impolitic innovation"; to us of this generation, it appears the one title appropriate to the Sovereign in his capacity as a Ruler in the East. It has given a new splendour

and dignity to the English Crown, and its use has familiarised the democracy with the magnitude and diversity of the Empire. Who, in 1910, has the faintest apprehension that the title of Emperor in India could have been used by Edward VII., or can be used by his successor or successors, in any way derogatory to the liberties of Englishmen or of Indians? Our fathers of the 'seventies frightened themselves with a name.

We have referred to the enthusiasm of the people at the return of the Prince. Let it be added that on the night of the day when the Prince and Princess reached London they appeared in the Royal Box at the Italian Opera at Covent Garden. There was a demonstration of

welcome such as Royalty in England had not experienced since the first appearance of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort in the Opera House. Within the next few weeks the Prince found himself absorbed in social and semi-public duties arising out of his travels. The chief of these gatherings was a banquet and ball at the Guildhall, given in honour of his return, by the Corporation of the City of London.



Photo: Kapp & Co., Darjeeling.

THE MEMORIAL OVER THE WELL AT CAWNPORE.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL REFORM AND EDUCATION.

The Opening of the Democratic Era—Premonitions of Reform—Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill of 1866—A Redistribution of Seats—Bitter Opposition from both Sides of the House—The Adullamites—Mr. John Bright's Caustic Criticism of Mr. Lowe—"Fighting Against the Future"—A Narrow Majority—The Russell Ministry Resigns—The Demand for the Ballot—The Reform League March—Hyde Park Riots—Round the Reformers' Tree—The Guards Called Out—Mr. Disraeli's Franchise Bill—The Bill is "Mangled, Murdered and Mutilated"—*Punch* on the Situation—The Education Question in 1870—A National Demand—A Long and Acrimonious Discussion—The Act is Passed.

THE decade before the birth of His Majesty Edward VII. saw the middle classes of England sharing political power with the territorial aristocracy. The industrial classes were shut out from the electoral system. That exclusion continued during the youth and early manhood of King Edward, and it was not until 1867 that the democracy began to acquire direct power in the composition of the legislature, and in shaping, in however slight a degree, the internal and external policies of the State. This year may be regarded as opening the democratic era in politics. We shall have need in later volumes to describe the rise of new democratic forces during the reign of King Edward, and to show how profoundly they affected the events of his reign, and in what manner they produced a furious constitutional struggle, silenced for the time being by his death.

For the present, however, our business is with the beginnings of that era. Very strange it is to us of the twentieth century to note the fears and distrust by the statesmen of a former generation when events compelled them to yield to the demand of the populace for repre-

sentation in the House of Commons. Both parties did what they could to delay acquiescence. Five successive Administrations promised reform, but did not grant it. Speech after speech from the Throne recommended it without serious effect until 1866. Meanwhile, popular clamour had reached an almost dangerous pitch. The Franchise Bill of 1866 was introduced by Mr. Gladstone, then leader of the Commons in Lord Russell's Ministry. Even Mr. Gladstone shrank with fear from the idea of putting the working classes in a majority in the town constituencies. That had never been the intention of any Reform Bill, he said, and he did not think that any such Bill would ever pass the House. His proposals, therefore, were designed to let in only a fraction of the industrial classes. Accompanying his measure for this extension of the franchise was a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats. He commended his proposals in a speech of classic eloquence. The Bill was not like a Trojan horse filled with armed men bent on ruin, plunder, and conflagration; rather did it carry recruits to the Parliamentary Army. "Give to these persons," ran his peroration, "new interests in the

Constitution; new interests which, by the beneficent processes of the law of nature and Providence, shall beget in them new attachment; for the attachment of the people to the Throne, the institutions, and the laws under which

could be, he had no confidence in the instinctive political capacity, much less the incorruptibility, of the working classes. He earned the intense dislike of this section of the English people by speaking about them with a scorn and

candour which delighted the Conservative party. If politics are still an unclean trade, they were yet more unclean half a century ago. Mr. Lowe appealed to the experience of every member of the Commons in suggesting that additions to the franchise meant an increase in the number of electors to be bribed. He denied the need of reform altogether. The core of his objections to the new legislation is in the following passage: "Let any consider—I have had such unhappy experiences, and many of us have—let any gentleman consider the constituencies he has had the honour to be concerned with. If you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness and facility for being intimid-



Photo: Fradelle & Young.

LORD SHERBROOKE (MR. LOWE).

they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, and more than fleets and armies; at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land."

Mr. Lowe, then at the height of his fame for biting and satiric eloquence, turned upon Mr. Gladstone and assailed the Bill with savage invective. Liberal though he was, or as liberal as a man of his haughty mental temperament

ated; or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom?"

Nor did Mr. Lowe lack Liberals to support him in this attitude. "He has retired," said Mr. John Bright, "into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him

everyone that was in distress and everyone that was discontented." Mr. Gladstone had, therefore, to fight not only the Conservative party, which bitterly resented any extension of political liberty to the masses, but also a strong section

recalled the great days of Parliamentary oratory. His second reading speech is a splendid example of his art. We give the closing passage—delivered after an exhaustive sitting, at three in the morning:

"You may drive us from our seats,"



A VILLAGE DISCUSSION ON THE FRANCHISE BILL.

of his own party, led by an orator of great courage and singular power. What he had to cope with was a combination of the Tory and Whig aristocracy against the democracy, with no small section of the upper middle class in alliance with the ruling families of the State. He fought for his Bill with tremendous energy, and an eloquence which

he ended, "you may slay, you may bury the measure that we have introduced. But we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social



THE HYDE PARK RIOTS: SCENE AT THE MARBLE ARCH.

forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of these debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, those great social forces are against you; they work with us; they are marshalled in our support. And the banner which we now carry in the fight, though perhaps at some moment of the struggle it may droop over our sinking heads, yet will float again in the eye of heaven, and will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the Three Kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy,

but to a certain and not distant victory."

The Government obtained a majority of five only for the Bill. They refused to resign. This is not a political history and the controversy cannot be followed in detail. What with the vigour of the Conservative opposition, and further accessions to the Adul-lamites, an amendment was carried against the Government by a majority of eleven. The Russell Ministry resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord Derby, who formed a Ministry, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Walpole was made Home Secretary. The new Government was in a minority in the Commons, but had the assistance of the Liberals in winding up

the business of the Session. The failure of the Reform Bill had, however, incensed the populace, and a mass meeting was organised by the Reform League of London to be held in Hyde Park, on the night of the 23rd of July, to demand manhood suffrage and the secret ballot. Mr. Walpole thought fit to prohibit this gathering, the idea of the Government being that the ruffianism of the capital would congregate and commit acts of violence. The park gates were ordered to be closed at five in the afternoon, and Sir Richard Mayne,

the Chief Commissioner of Police, placarded London with notices to this effect. The Reform League, however, determined to hold the demonstration. The Leaguers assembled on Clerkenwell Green and marched through Holborn and Oxford Street to the Marble Arch. Within the closed gates of the park were eighteen hundred police. Mr. Beales demanded admission to the park. This was refused. Mr. Beales led some of his adherents to Trafalgar Square, and there held a meeting. While he was away a vast mob had gathered which forced an entrance into the park. The scene is thus described in "Cassell's Illustrated History of England":—

"Meanwhile the mob that had gathered about the Marble Arch, both in Park Lane and in Bayswater Road, exasperated at the loss of the excitement which the meeting would have afforded them, and partly, no doubt, animated by resentment at what seemed needlessly arbitrary conduct on the part of the police, pressed close up to the park railings; the bolder spirits seized them, shook them; grasped by hundreds of strong hands at once, they swayed—they gave way. In an instant a hundred practicable breaches afforded that admission into the park which the police had denied. Down came the police, horse and foot, upon the invaders; but they were distracted by the multitude



THE MEETING AT THE REFORMERS' TREE, HYDE PARK, LONDON.

of inroads and disconcerted by the ease with which the railings were laid prostrate in every direction. They used their truncheons freely, and many a head was broken; but the mob, besides the advantage of overwhelming numbers, took to stone-throwing, and many of the police were severely injured. Sir Richard Mayne, who had himself been wounded, then sent for the military. A detachment of Foot Guards soon arrived, followed by a troop of Life Guards. The mob cheered the soldiers, who posted themselves near the Marble Arch, occasionally marching upon any specially dense assemblage of persons, and compelling them to shift their ground. Speeches were made by excited orators at various points within the park, after the mob had forced their way in; but the confusion that prevailed was such that little attention seems to have been paid to them. On the southern side of the park, also, in the Knightsbridge Road, a number of mischievous persons congregated, and broke down two hundred yards of the park railing. After the arrival of the soldiers, the police endeavoured to make a number of arrests, in doing which they met with violent resistance, and were in many cases severely handled. The partisans of order were presently reinforced by a second detachment of Foot Guards, who, with the first detachment, received orders to be in readiness to fire, should it become necessary. Encounters between the police and the mob then grew less frequent, and finally quiet was restored when another body of Life Guards arrived and assisted in removing the mob from the park. Much stone-throwing was all this time going on in the streets, and the windows of the Athenæum and United Service Clubs, as well as of a number of

private houses, were broken. No lives were lost, though a considerable number of persons received severe injuries."

The question for the Government was whether they should replace the railings, line them with troops, shoot down the mob, and thus preserve the park from the defilement of political agitation. The Cabinet, however, was in search of popular support, and Mr. Walpole was not the sort of man to enforce the law against people daring enough to pull down park railings. He received a deputation of Leaguers, and agreed with them—"shedding tears the while," says one chronicler—to withdraw the military. It was an ignominious surrender to mob violence; but it established the right of the people to use the park for political demonstrations.

The first year of Lord Derby's Ministry was the year of the cholera in London, of a severe financial crisis which reduced many families from affluence to poverty, and of much Fenian activity in Ireland. The agitation for reform gathered strength and the Conservative Ministry found itself compelled to introduce legislation. Mr. Disraeli opened the subject in the Session of 1867 by submitting a series of elaborate resolutions, culminating in a request to the Crown to issue a Royal Commission to devise a scheme of re-distribution. The Conservative party had no love for the task which events had forced upon them. There were elderly gentlemen who thought the Reform Act of the 'thirties a terrible blunder and would have limited rather than extended the franchise. This section was very well pleased with a method of action likely to delay reform; but a still larger section within the Ministerial party and also among the Opposition were convinced that



something had to be done. In these circumstances Mr. Disraeli introduced a Bill creating four new franchises, which were estimated to add eighty-two thousand people to the electoral roll; attached to it was a plan of redistribution. The proposals produced a split in the Cabinet.

voters. Mr. Gladstone, however, shattered these figures, and the Bill was so hotly attacked from all quarters of the House that it was read a second time only on the understanding that the committee might do almost what it liked with it. Eventually the Bill, in the course of one



THE CABINET ROOM, DOWNING STREET.

After a period of great confusion an entirely new scheme was submitted to the Commons. Into the details of this scheme and of the furious controversies about it in the House and in the country this is not the place to enter. Mr. Disraeli made the audacious estimate that it would add a million voters to the borough constituencies and over three hundred thousand to the roll of country

dramatic evening, was entirely transformed. Mr. Disraeli boldly facing the risk of a mutiny among his supporters and accepting amendments favoured by a majority of the whole House. The result was that while the Bill, in its original shape, would have added something over a hundred thousand to the register, the amended Bill added nearly half a million. The House had wearied



of the subject; the average member, conscious of the storm outside Parliament, had become fearful lest the inevitable new voters should destroy him; few in their hearts wanted reform; the majority yielded to reform, whether they

to which we have referred had cast Lord Cranborne—the late Marquis of Salisbury—out of the Government. He had fought the Bill with an energy and a virility of speech equalled only by Mr. Lowe, who assailed the Conservatives none the less



THE REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL, LONDON.

were Liberals or Conservatives, in order to save their political skins. The Redistribution Bill was so framed and so handled in the Commons as to limit as far as could be the democratising effect of enfranchisement upon future parliaments. Distrust and fear of the working-class vote was the animating though unavowed motive of the Ministry. The split

bitterly than he had attacked his Liberal friends. Lord Cranborne disliked and distrusted Disraeli, whom he then regarded, and not without reason, as an ambitious and none too scrupulous adventurer. As a Tory of the Tories, who believed in the government of the people by hereditary aristocracy, not in government by the people, and the submerging

of the privileged class, it is natural that he should have thought of the Disraelian *coup* as a betrayal of Conservative principles. Says the writer of "Cassell's History": "In incisive language, and with the slow, measured action to which his tall figure so readily lent itself, he deliberately

was now waiting its final approval. The 'checks and counterpoises,' of which Disraeli had spoken so confidently, were gone. Mr. Gladstone had demanded ten alterations in the Bill, and had carried nine of them—the lodger franchise, the abolition of the compound householder,

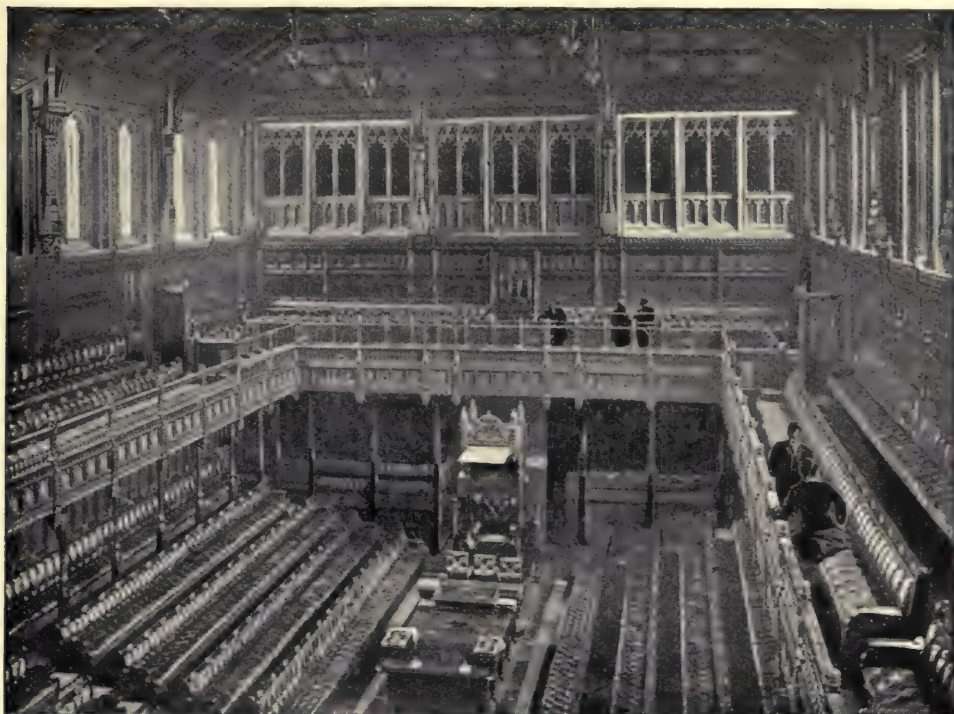


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill.

THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

charged the Tory leaders with a betrayal of their trust. He ridiculed the idea of the Bill being called 'a Conservative triumph.' 'The real parent of the Bill, as we are about to pass it,' he said, 'is not the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Mr. Disraeli], but the member for South Lancashire [Mr. Gladstone].' The Bill that had been offered to the House in March was wholly unlike the Bill that

the provision against traffic in votes, the abolition of the 'taxing franchise,' the omission of the dual vote, enlarged redistribution of seats, reduced county franchise, the omission of voting papers, of the educational and of the savings bank franchises. 'If the omission of these clauses and the adoption of the principles of Mr. Bright be a triumph, then the Conservative party has never in the whole course of its history

won a triumph so signal as this.' Then, in words of profound seriousness, he went on: 'I desire to protest, in the most earnest language which I am capable of using, against the political morality on which the manœuvres of this year have been based. If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer, you may depend upon it the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet. . . . Even if I deemed this measure to be most advantageous, I still should deeply regret that the position of the Executive should have been so degraded as it has been in the present Session. I should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain; and I should, above all things, regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel in our parliamentary annals.' "

Mr. Lowe was equally outspoken: "Was it to be conceived," he said, "that right honourable gentlemen, who had given no indications of the extreme facility of changing their opinions and lending themselves to the art of treachery, would, for the sake of keeping a few of them in office for a short time and giving some small patronage to half a dozen lawyers, have been prepared to sacrifice all the principles, all the convictions, all the traditions of their lives; while others were prepared to turn round upon their order and the institutions of their country, merely for the purpose of sitting behind these right honourable gentlemen, and hearing, with the knowledge that it is all true, language such as that the noble lord (Cranborne) has used to-night?"

Mr. Disraeli had to answer these

speeches as best he could by arguing that the Government had acted in a purely conservative spirit—an argument which is in itself a sufficient commentary upon the hypocrisy of party politics. The House as a whole wanted the Bill not because it liked the Bill, but because it feared the people. The debate in the Lords showed this fear still more plainly, though it was mitigated by the hope that the new classes of voters would not be proof against the seductive influences which the governing class of England knew so well how to exercise at elections. More or less drastic amendments were made in the measure; the House of Commons would have none of them, and in the end the Lords meekly ate the leek. "No doubt," said Lord Derby, "we are making a great experiment and taking a leap into the dark." That was the Conservative point of view, whether men called themselves Tories or Liberals; to the people of the boroughs and the counties it was but a short leap into the light of popular representation. Lord Derby's historic phrase furnished *Punch* with a subject for a famous cartoon representing that statesman as a steeple-chaser, blindly charging at a fence of portentous thickness, which bears the inscription "Reform." "Another of *Punch's* cartoons," says the writer already quoted, "gave the honour of the Bill to its real author, though there were long afterwards those who asserted, in agreement with Mr. Bright, that it was 'Lord Derby's Bill.' On the walls of the Royal Academy had hung in that year's exhibition a picture by Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Poynter of 'Israel in Egypt.' It showed the mighty form of the Sphinx, the mysterious Egyptian monster that

still remains half buried in sand in the Theban Desert, dragged upon a car to its place by a thousand toiling Israelitish slaves. The spectator, as he gazed upon the picture, could almost hear the crack of the slavedriver's whip, and the groan of the miserable wretch who fell under the wheels ; the crowd of bending forms seemed alive, the car seemed moving.

Majesty's Ministers and the blind, dazed unwilling, but yet obedient members of the Conservative party."

Of greater importance than the admission of a section of the industrial classes to political power was the establishment of a State system of compulsory education. Prior to 1870 the education of the people had been provided by voluntary



A REFORM BILL CARTOON: "A LEAP IN THE DARK," AUGUST 1867.
By Permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*."

This was the picture that *Punch* parodied. To a place in the Temple of Success and Fame a car was moving, dragged by straining multitudes ; the multitudes bore the well-known likeness of the members of the English House of Commons, and the figure on the car wore the mysterious, Sphinx-like, Oriental features of Mr. Disraeli ! 'Israel in Egypt' became 'Disraeli in Triumph ;' the slaves bending beneath the weight, and torn by the merciless lash of necessity, were Her

effort on the part of the Church of England and other religious organisations. It is no injustice to these bodies to say that their object was the training of children in the tenets of religion rather than the giving of adequate secular instruction. The teaching was of a very elementary character, and did not go beyond reading, writing, and simple arithmetic ; but on the religious side, in the Church of England and Roman Catholic schools, it was comprehensive. The State assisted

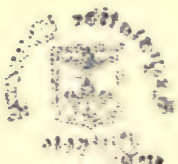
the work by grants in aid. Having regard to the condition of public opinion at the time, when the education of the masses was thought by the majority of well-to-do Englishmen to be dangerous, or at least a waste of effort, the instruction given was, on the whole, effective. It leavened the masses with a class which could read and write and do easy sums, and had, moreover, a grasp of the facts of the Christian religion and the principles of Christian morality. But, except in the villages, where there was a school side by side with the parish church, and where the clergy had the time, and the local gentry the means and the willingness, to keep the schools going efficiently—as efficiency was then understood in such matters—the mass of the child population remained outside the system. It had not kept pace with the growth of the cities and towns, though heroic efforts had been made by the Church and other bodies to cope with the increasing population and the new conditions which the extension of industrialism had brought.



THE W. E. FORSTER MEMORIAL.

We had, in fact, fallen behind other nations in the provision of facilities for instruction. An enormous proportion of our people could neither read nor write, and masses of young children in the industrial centres were growing up in ignorance, a danger to the stability of the State from this cause, and a danger to themselves, in so far as the absence of education was equivalent to a loss of economic power. The best opinion in the nation denounced this state of things as a scandal, and demanded legislation, though the nation as a whole was by no means convinced

that education would be a good thing for the poorer classes. The aristocratic element foresaw that it would accentuate popular discontent with economic conditions and lead to a demand for a better distribution of wealth; while the employing class in factories and workshops, who had begun to feel the power which workmen more or less educated could use in leading their uneducated fellows in revolt against low wages and a low standard of living, were actuated by



similar fears, though there were, of course, many in the higher social grades who took broader views and regarded the education of the people as a remedy for, rather than a cause of, social discontent. Without these the agitation for a compulsory system could not, indeed, have been carried to a successful issue.

out into school districts and providing for the election of Boards charged with the provision and management of elementary schools, and with the levying of a rate for education. Every child between the ages of five and twelve henceforth had to be educated and school places provided as a matter of



ONE OF THE COUNTRY SCHOOLS.

Photo: W. Bates, Chertsey.

Broadly stated, the demand for education was national, and by 1870 the insufficiency of the existing system was so plain that the Government found it irresistible. The problem was that of covering the country with elementary schools without displacing those brought into existence by voluntary agency supplemented by Exchequer grants. Mr. W. E. Forster solved it by mapping England

right. Power was taken by the Education Department to coerce negligent districts. The voluntary schools were thus supplemented by a new class of school doing the same work in secular but not in religious teaching. A fierce controversy arose on the religious question. The Anglican clergy objected to the establishment of rival schools. The Nonconformists also objected because it did not

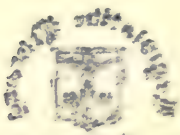


proscribe religious teaching, but left the local Board free to give such religious teaching as each thought fit, subject to a conscience clause which permitted the parent to withdraw the child from the religious instruction if he so desired. Their solution of the religious difficulty was that the new schools should be wholly secular, and in this they found themselves in unholy alliance with Secularists and other avowed enemies of doctrinal religion of any kind—a party then of considerable strength in England. Mr. Forster thus found himself assailed from all quarters of the House, which concentrated its energies on this issue to

the neglect of the general plan of popular education. On the constructive principle of the Bill—the compulsory education of every child and the provision of a school place for every child—the House was in agreement; but, as Mr. Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke) observed in the second reading debate, members behaved like “a fierce herd of cattle in a large meadow, deserting the grass which is abundant about them and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in a corner of the field.” Eventually the agitation against the Bill was quelled for the time by the acceptance by the Government of an amendment moved by



THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, WHITEHALL.





THE OFFICES OF THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD FROM THE EMBANKMENT GARDENS.

Mr. Cowper Temple, which excluded denominational catechisms and formularies from the new rate-provided schools and provided for simple Bible instruction. The new School Boards were to have no authority over the schools voluntarily set up by the Church and other bodies. These were to do their work independently of the local educational authority and of the rates, and to maintain themselves by fees and the earning of the Government grant, which was equal to that which might be earned by the Board schools and was estimated to cover half the cost of the education. The compromise bitterly offended the Nonconformists,

who had hoped to see the Church schools supplanted by a national system of State-supported schools from which all denominational religious teaching was excluded. Into the political wrangles about this subject, however, there is no need to enter in this place. Our purpose is merely to indicate the character of the legislation under which, during the lifetime of Edward VII., the working-classes of England were converted from an illiterate into a literate population. While he was yet a young man the majority of the people below the middle class could not read a letter or write one. Thirty or forty years ago no one was surprised when a man or



woman confessed an inability to receipt a bill. There can be few sane adults now in England who cannot read with moderate fluency, and write their own language with sufficient accuracy to communicate their news and simple ideas to others. The English labourer, whether of the towns or the fields, is a man of wide knowledge and varied thought compared with his father or grandfather. He has been equipped, sometimes against his will or that of his parents, and to the dislike of no small section of his social superiors, with the elements of education. Apart from the utility to himself of what he has learned, he has acquired a refinement of manners unknown to his forerunners. Education may not have transformed him into a finished gentleman; but that it has had a refining influence upon the population none can dispute whose memories go back to the days before the Board-school system came into being. It may be a moot question whether his ideals of life are higher, and whether his

moral nature has been appreciably improved, though, for our own part, we think the social facts about us give an affirmative answer on that point; but it is indisputable that it has made him a political factor in the land. For no small part of his energies, apart from the earning of a livelihood, have been spent and are being spent on politics. We shall have need at a later stage to elaborate this theme, for it will be our duty to trace the growth of sociological and political movements which were fruitful in new—and to many people disturbing—legislation during the reign of King Edward. They were due to the emergence of the labouring man into the arena of politics—an arena to which he would not have been admitted by the Reform legislation of 1884 but for the Education Act of 1870. It is to the working of that Act for the past forty years that the wage-earner of England owes the responsible influence he can now exercise in the political affairs of the country.



ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: IN THE CARPENTER'S SHOP.

CHAPTER V.

WORK FOR CHARITY

The Queen's Influence in the Government of the Kingdom—The Work of the Prince of Wales—Albert Edward's Philanthropic Efforts—Pleads for the Merchant Seamen's Orphanage and for the Warehousemen and Clerks' School—Speeches on Behalf of the Clergy Corporation and the Royal National Lifeboat Institution—Thought for the Welsh Children—The Charitable Activities of the Drama and Art—Reminiscences by the Prince—Mr. Buckstone's Eulogy—Scottish Charities Claim the Prince's Interest—A Guest of the Cab-Drivers' Benevolent Association—Albert Edward Tells a Story—The Prince and the Fire Brigade—The Licensed Victuallers' Asylum—The Friend of Railwaymen—The Prince of Wales and the Hospitals—At St. Thomas's and "Bart's"—Ceremony at Guy's Hospital—In the East End—The Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund—How it has Progressed.

DURING the thirty-nine years of the widowhood of Queen Victoria the public activities of the Heir Apparent were limited to non-political affairs. In matters of State he had no open or avowed share. Whether Queen Victoria consulted him and allowed her judgment to be influenced by him is not known. The general supposition was that the Queen dealt with her Ministers uncounselled and unaided. She was a woman of vigorous will, unlikely to share her intellectual responsibilities with another, even with a son, and Constitutionally unable to delegate her personal duties as Sovereign. These she discharged to the last with systematic and punctilious care. It may be imagined that there were occasions when international and domestic questions arose which more or less directly affected the monarchy and the fortunes of the successor to the reigning Sovereign, and on such as these the counsel of the Prince of Wales would naturally have been sought; but until more light is thrown on the history of the reign of Victoria after the death of the Prince Consort—as it may be thrown by the Letters and Memoirs

to be published in the next generation—it is impossible to say what part Edward VII. played when Prince of Wales in affairs of State. That cannot be known outside the inner Court and Ministerial circle; and it may never be known. It is an aspect of King Edward's life which is shrouded from view. How far he participated, if at all, in high politics when Prince of Wales, or what share he may have had in shaping Royal decisions as to the acceptance or modification of Ministerial advice—and Victoria was never merely the instrument of her Ministers—must be left for the reader to speculate upon. The known facts permit only of the view that there was a division of labour between the widowed Sovereign and the Heir Apparent by which the Prince of Wales relieved the Queen of all those public and social activities, apart from affairs of State, which she found herself unable to discharge. The Prince may conceivably have done much work of State in conjunction with the Sovereign; but if he did it was done without his part in it becoming known outside the Court. In the present state of knowledge, therefore, a biography can concern itself

only with the public doings of the Prince. Extending, as these did, over four decades before he came to the Throne, their enumeration alone would fill a volume. We can take only outstanding incidents in an incessant round of public duties.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the multifarious duties which the Prince of Wales discharged during this long period was the steady interest he showed in philanthropic work. This chapter will pass in review the more important of his efforts in the cause of Charity. The visit to the British Orphan Asylum at Slough has been noticed in an earlier volume. Seamen next claimed his attention, and we find him, in 1866, pleading for support for the Merchant Seamen's Orphan Asylum at Snaresbrook. In the same year he opened the Warehousemen and Clerks' School at Croydon—a charity of immense value to the less prosperous section of the commercial classes. The Friend of the Clergy Corporation, to which many a son and daughter of rectory and parsonage owes his or her education, had in him a sympathetic helper nearly half a century ago. "Young as I am," we find him saying at an anniversary festival at Willis's Rooms, "I think I may state from my own personal knowledge how low are the stipends received by many of our clergymen." Of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution he was a generous supporter, and several of his earlier speeches show how impressed he was by the special perils incurred by the seafaring class. "An institution of this kind," he observed at the annual meeting in 1867, "is an absolute necessity in a great maritime country such as ours. It is wholly different from other institutions in one respect,

because, although lives are to be saved, they can in those cases in which this Society operates only be saved at the risk of the loss of other lives." We find him in 1867 supporting the Society of Ancient Britons, a Welsh charity founded in the reign of Queen Anne for the education of poor Welsh children in London. Originally the society had a political origin, being formed by Welshmen favourable to the House of Brunswick. George II., as the Prince reminded his audience, became, when Prince of Wales, the first Patron; and Caroline, Princess of Wales, in honour of whose birth the society was formed, took a great interest in its charitable work. "The school in those times," said the Prince, as reported in *The Times*, "was nothing more than a day school. It was found to be too small, and was removed to Clerkenwell, and there it flourished for some time. In 1771 it was removed to Gray's-Inn Lane, and in 1818, at the death of the much lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales, whose loss the whole country most deeply felt, 50 additional children were, by means of a public subscription, sent to the school in remembrance of her name. The school continued to flourish; but it was thought advisable, if it could be effected, that the institution should be removed into the country, in order, among other advantages, that the children might derive the benefit of the fresh air. Accordingly in 1854 the school was removed to Ashford [Middlesex], and on the 13th of July, 1857, my lamented father inaugurated and opened the school on its present site. I am happy to say that I accompanied him on that occasion, and from that time to this you will believe me when I assure you that I have felt the deepest



LAUNCHING THE LIFEBOAT.

interest in the prosperity of the school. It has frequently occurred on my journey from Windsor to London by the South-Western line for me to notice the school

incurred ; so much so that it was rendered necessary to reduce the number of children from 200 to 150, but I am happy to be able to inform you that in the course of the last century and a half as many as 3,000 Welsh children have been by means of this institution clothed, fed, and educated, and afterwards sent forth into the world provided, to a certain extent, for their future career." The school has continued its useful sphere.

As a regular theatre-goer—was any play ever produced in London that was worth seeing which the Prince and Princess did not see?—the Prince of Wales lent eloquent aid to the Royal Theatrical Fund, of which Queen Victoria was Patroness, and which has always numbered the members of the Royal Family among its annual subscribers. The late Sir Henry Irving was a trustee of the Fund, and his distinguished colleague, Miss Ellen Terry, an ardent supporter. The Prince presided at the Anniversary Festival at



THE LATE SIR HENRY IRVING AS "HAMLET."

By E. Onslow Ford, R.A.

as I have passed by it, but that circumstance alone would not be required to remind me of its claims. When the school was removed from London to the country considerable expense was

St. James's Hall in 1870. Allusion was made by the Duke of Sutherland, the Chairman, to the constant support given to the drama by the Prince and Princess. The Prince "rejoiced that ever since his

childhood he had had opportunities of going to the theatre and witnessing some of the most excellent plays and appreciating the performances of some of the best actors of the day, many of whom he saw on either side and before him on this occasion. . . . Not only had the Princess and himself derived considerable amusement from what they had witnessed at the theatre, but they had given their patronage to the drama because it was their wish to encourage a noble profession. . . . What charity could be more deserving of support? When they considered how much amusement and pleasure they all derived by going to the theatre, did it ever occur to them that it was to the actors and actresses a life of drudgery and hardship? These same actors and actresses who appeared in some comic character might have near and dear relations lying sick at home. Then, also, when a time of life arrived in the course of nature in which they were unable longer to appear upon the stage ought they to be left to starve? Certainly not, and it was to prevent aged actors who were incapable of work from starving that this fund had been instituted."

The Prince then gave a detailed account of the work of the Charity, and ended by proposing the toast of the Fund, coupling with it the name of a famous actor long since gone over to the majority—"one of our oldest and ablest actors, Mr. Buckstone." "I have known Mr. Buckstone personally ever since his childhood, and I have repeatedly laughed and roared at his drollery and humour," said the Prince. "That His Royal Highness is a constant and warm supporter of the drama," observed Mr. Buckstone in the course of a reply from which we venture

to quote at length, "is evident from his frequent visits with the Princess to all the London theatres, and his ready appreciation of every worthy novelty.



MISS ELLEN TERRY AS "LADY MACBETH."

By J. S. Sargent, R.A.

This taste for the drama may in some measure be attributed to his early introduction to dramatic art at Windsor Castle, where, on having the honour of appearing there by invitation of Her

Majesty and the lamented Prince Consort, I have frequently seen His Royal Highness with his brothers and sisters, seated at the feet of their father and mother, witnessing with delight the various representations. . . . The members of our Fund cannot be too grateful for the kindness and goodness of heart which have induced His Royal Highness to come here to-night, as the calls upon his time have now become so many, and the duties he has to perform so numerous and fatiguing, that we can only wonder how he gets through them all. Even within these few days he has held a levée ; on Saturday last he patronised a performance at Drury Lane in aid of the Dramatic College ; then had to run away to Freemasons' Hall to be present at the installation of the Grand Master ; and now we find him in the chair this evening ; so what with conversaziones, laying foundation-stones, opening schools, and other calls upon his little leisure, I think he may be looked upon as one of the hardest working men in Her Majesty's dominions. Still, it is this ready kindness that endears him to the nation, as the Princess, by her charming qualities, is so firmly fixed in the heart of every Englishman and Englishwoman."

The presence of the Prince at that dinner and the speech he made meant much to the Fund in cash, and still more to the theatrical profession in social consideration. The Victorian age was a little severe and puritanical, and actresses and actors were rather ungenerously regarded by the world of fashion. The Prince of Wales led the change of attitude and tone. He was never supercilious or superior in his bearing towards anyone, and least of all to members of a profes-

sion which contributed so much to his recreation and enjoyment. Many of the great actors and actresses of his generation have gone from us ; those of them who have left records of meetings with him have all written of him with an enthusiasm which is almost affectionate. They recognised in him something more than a patron of their art. He was the especial friend of the profession for half a century. His kindly interest in their enterprises and in their personal fortunes made him beloved amongst them. In no section of the community was Edward VII. regarded with warmer feelings or his amiability of character more deeply admired than among the artists of the theatres. His love of the theatre and his personal friendliness for the exponents of dramatic art had a far-reaching effect upon the social status of the actor. Our present concern is not, however, with the effect of the Prince's intercourse with actors on the position of actors outside the theatre, but with the Prince's work in the cause of Charity ; we leave the theme for others more germane to our purpose. It is enough to note here that the Theatrical Fund early had the advantage of his support. The followers of other forms of art also found him willing to give his aid to their charitable undertakings. We find him, in 1871, presiding at the Freemasons' Hall at the annual dinner of the Artists' Benevolent Fund, which performs for distressed wielders of the brush and the widows and orphans of painters much the same services as those offered to actors by the Royal Theatrical Fund. The Prince commended this Charity because it "helps the children of those who have done so much to elevate and refine art among us, and

whose beautiful pictures have so often delighted us. Many persons may imagine that it is not difficult to be a painter, but the distinguished artists whom I see around me will, I am sure, agree with me that it is a great mistake. To be a good painter, genius is by no means all that is required. Industry and perseverance must also be exercised just as much as in the case of eminent clergymen, lawyers, scientific men, philosophers, or the members of any other branch of human exertion which we can name. Again, we must remember that, although a man may have been a successful painter, although his genius may have been recognised in other countries besides his own, and although he may have accumulated money in the course of long, laborious years, yet, being laid on a bed of sickness, that money may have dwindled away, and his children may be left entirely destitute. This Fund, then, is destined for the support of the orphans of such artists and for their education."

The passage will serve to illustrate the intuitive sympathy which enabled the Prince to enter into circumstances and conditions of life so different from his own. Every speech he made at every Charity won over to him a new section of the community. Seamen, warehousemen and clerks, the clergy, actors, artists, Welsh Britons—to each and to all he said just the right thing, which linked his understanding and his sympathies with theirs and made him one of themselves. We have mentioned the Welsh National Charity in London and ought not to

omit the Scotch—the Royal Caledonian Asylum. The Prince presided at the Anniversary Festival of this fine Charity in 1871, wearing, it may hardly be necessary to say, a Highland costume, and supported by many of the Scottish nobility. Much Gaelic seems to have been spoken



EDWARD VII. HIRING A HANSOM.

or sung. The Prince, in proposing "Prosperity to the Royal Caledonian Asylum," described its objects as the support and education of the children of soldiers and sailors and marines of Scottish nationality who had died or become disabled in the service of the country, or the children of poor Scottish parents in London. "The Charity," so reads the reported speech of the Prince, "had been founded

in 1815, a memorable year for this country, and from that time until his death his lamented grandfather had presided over its interests. For his own part he could only express the satisfaction he felt at being connected with an institution which had received the patronage of Royalty for so long a period. On the occasion when his grandfather had pre-



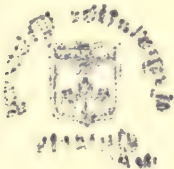
A CABMEN'S SHELTER.

sided at one of the festivals of the institution a large sum of money was subscribed for its support, and he trusted on that occasion its funds would be considerably increased, so as to enable the thirty vacancies to be filled up, in addition to providing board, lodging, clothing, and education for the 110 boys and girls now received within the building. The children were given a thoroughly sound education, and many of those who had been brought up in the establishment had

subsequently distinguished themselves in the Army, the Navy, and the Law. This Charity, which was entirely supported by voluntary contributions, was the only one in London intended solely for the children of Scottish parents, and, therefore, he called upon all Scotsmen to contribute liberally in aid of its funds. It conferred much happiness upon our soldiers and sailors that they were able to feel assured that in the event of their death in action their children would be brought up in decency and comfort, and that they would not be allowed to fall victims to want and sin."

One of the Prince's public appearances in the 'seventies made him the favourite of the drivers of the now almost displaced hansom and four-wheeler. In 1879 he attended the festival dinner of the Cab-drivers' Benevolent Association and made one of the happiest and most sympathetic speeches which stand to his credit. "There is," he said, "no class of our fellow-countrymen that deserve more of our consideration than the cab-drivers of this great city, and it has already been truly expressed to you that one cannot think without pity of these poor men sitting on their cabs in the cold east winds with which, we are, alas! so well acquainted, and in the rain and snow which have been our lot now for so many months. They are, as a rule, I believe, a class honest, persevering, and industrious. For them I have to plead to-night, and for this excellent institution, which has for the last nine years rendered to them such great benefits."

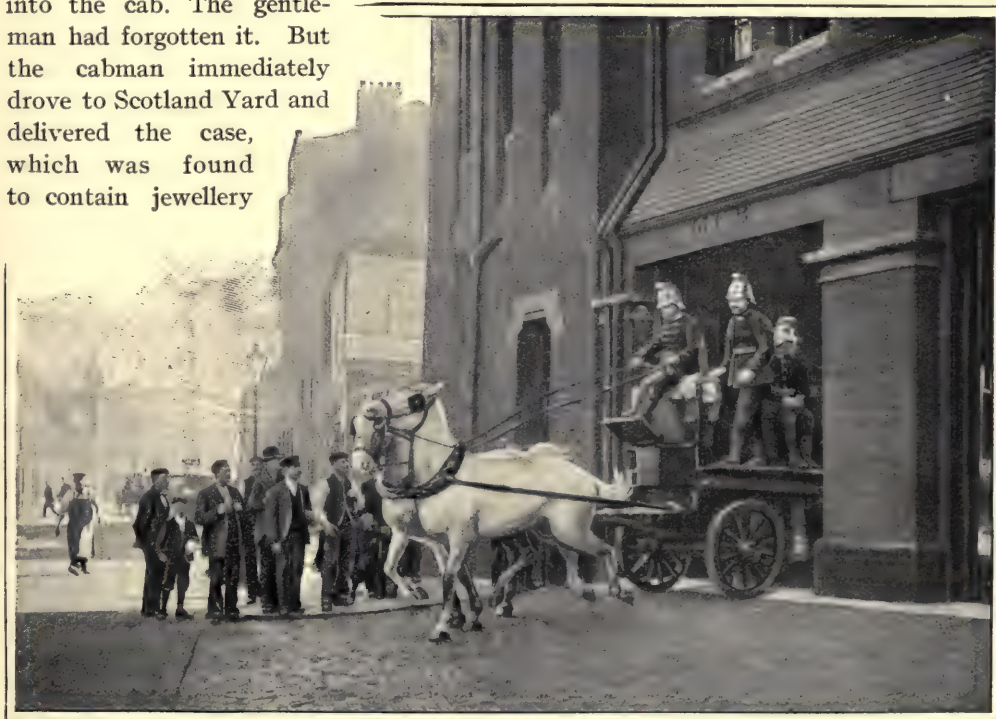
Then followed one of those succinct statements of the purposes and work of the Charity which the Prince never omitted. As proof of the honesty of the



cabman, he quoted statistics of articles left in cabs and given up to the police. "I believe, at least it is the popular belief," he observed, "that there is only one article a cabman never returns, and this is an umbrella, and I think we may consider that is quite fair. A gentleman having an umbrella may not want a cab, but without an umbrella he will be compelled to take a cab if the rain comes on!" The Prince became anecdotal. "A gentleman drove in a cab to a shop, left the cab, and entered the shop. On coming out of the shop, he was not in so quiet a frame of mind as when he entered it; it was evident to the passers-by that he was dissatisfied with the shopman; he left the shop and went away. The shopman threw a case into the cab. The gentleman had forgotten it. But the cabman immediately drove to Scotland Yard and delivered the case, which was found to contain jewellery

worth £2,300. This will give you some idea of the honesty of those men for whom we are endeavouring to do much."

Immense was the popularity of the Prince after that speech among all who drove a horse for hire. For many years the Prince had a private hansom of his own, which he used often in London. The fashion was general among men of means in the capital until the 'nineties. Not infrequently also the Prince would hire a cab; and there may still be aged drivers—in the workhouses, it is to be feared, or subsisting as best they can on an Old-Age Pension—who can tell of having driven him and of the piece of gold with which he invariably paid the fare, accepting no proffered change.



TURNING OUT TO A FIRE.



Sometimes these cab-rides were taken at night, for the Prince had a penchant for attending fires, and took a strong interest in the work of the London Fire Brigade, then under the direction of the late Sir

Eyre Massey Shaw, who was among his personal friends. There was an aged reporter in London, the business of whose life was to supply the newspapers with reports of fires and nothing else. He had

attended every great fire for forty years or more, and he "wrote up" the gallantry of the firemen so effectively that he was regarded as an honorary member of the brigade. He used to tell a story of a gallop with the Prince on a furiously driven engine. He did not know his companion at the time, and finding him within the police cordon afterwards, asked him for a light for a pipe. He was offered a cigar the like of which he had never smoked, and the Prince talked fires with him while the brigade did its work. Thereafter they met occasionally at fires, and the Prince



"ON DUTY."

never failed to recognise him and proffer his cigar case. But the fact of the Prince's presence was discreetly omitted from the reports. Nevertheless, it became widely known in London that there was a good chance of seeing the Prince with Captain Shaw at a night fire, if the Prince chanced to be in town and the fire on a grand scale. Fire-fighting had for a time a singular fascination for him.

responding to the toast of his health, mentioned that he had himself been the subject of remonstrances :—

" Lord Granville has just mentioned to you that this afternoon he was accosted by a friend, who asked him why he was coming to-night and expressed some surprise at his intention. Lord Granville was asked by one friend. During the last three or four days I have received



THE LICENSED VICTUALLERS' ASYLUM, PECKHAM.

One of the Charity Dinners which the Prince of Wales attended—that of the Licensed Victuallers' Asylum in 1877—brought him into disfavour with that section of the community which regards the public-house as the mouth of the Pit, and inn-keepers as the bond-slaves of the Prince of Darkness. When it became known that the Prince would attend the Jubilee Festival, in 1877, of the philanthropic work of the Licensed Victuallers' Orphanage and Asylum there was a noisy protest. At the event Lord Granville took the chair, and the company included several Lords Spiritual as well as Temporal. The Prince of Wales,

as many as 200 petitions from bodies in all parts of the United Kingdom begging me on no account to be present here this evening. Of course, I do not wish in any way to disparage those temperance societies, which have, no doubt, excellent objects in view. But I think this time they have rather overshot the mark, because the object of the meeting to-night is not to encourage the love of drink, but to support a good and excellent charity. I can only say, and I am sure all those here will agree with me, that no one had the interest of all those in his adopted country more at heart than my lamented father, and I feel perfectly

convinced that he would never have been the patron of the society unless he was sure that it was one that was likely to do good, and that it was deserving of his support."



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL: THE OLD HENRY VIII. GATEWAY.

The Prince made a capital little speech in support of the Asylum charities—a speech as full of meat as an egg, as Lord Granville described his essays in after-dinner oratory. It had an appreciable influence in lessening the harshness of "Temperance" opinion against the much maligned publican.

In 1884 the Prince made railway men his friends, as he had earlier gained the appreciation of the cabmen. In this year he spoke at the Festival of the Railway Guards' Friendly Society, and in the course of his speech the Prince said:—

"No public servants, I think, more deserve our sincere sympathy and support than the guards of our railway trains. It is obvious to all of us who have to travel constantly on railways how much our safety depends on their industry, their vigilance, their sobriety, and their discipline; and it is very gratifying to know that we may confidently rely on finding these qualities in them. Knowing what they have to go through, their exposure to all weathers and to risks of all kinds; remembering how much they have to be away from their homes and their families, it seems to me that we have hardly the right to expect to obtain from them their valuable services unless we in some measure mitigate their sufferings in sickness and from accident, and unless in case of death we do something for the maintenance of their widows and orphans."

We will now turn to aspects of charitable work which know no limitation of profession or nationality. From his early manhood the Prince of Wales had taken a keen interest in the welfare of the necessitous sick, and in questions of medical provision for the poorer classes. After his illness it became more pro-



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, FROM THE THAMES.

nounced, but before that event, which deepened and strengthened his character, he had pleaded the cause of several hospitals.

The first hospital which the Prince aided by his presence and oratory was St. Bartholomew's. As President of the Governors he attended the annual dinner in 1868. His speech shows that he took no limited view of his duties as Governor.



THE EFFECT OF THE CLERKENWELL EXPLOSION.

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"We may regard this as a grand day," he said, "and those who have gone through the wards of the hospital will have found everything in good order; but I once took the officers by surprise, and I came here in the winter, practically without giving notice. I can assure you I found everything on that occasion in the same condition as to-day—nurses and attendants in their places, and surgeons and physicians punctiliously discharging their duties. I may here advert to the terrible event which occurred in the winter—the Clerkenwell explosion. That showed

how well organised the hospital is, and how admirably its arrangements are adapted to such an emergency. Almost immediately after the explosion as many as forty patients were safely housed in the hospital, while many had their wounds dressed and were sent away. I came here, and found that the sufferers were receiving every possible attention. Much is, no doubt, due to the unremitting care and supervision of the Treasurer; and if one of the surgeons, Mr. Holden, were not present, I would express my appreciation of his valuable services in terms which, I am sure, many in this room would be ready to endorse."

The Princess of Wales had accompanied him on the visit after the Clerkenwell explosion, and the sufferers from that insensate

Fenian outrage had the satisfaction of hearing her kindly words of sympathy. In the same year the Prince and Princess were present at the laying of the foundation-stone of St. Thomas's Hospital by Queen Victoria. In 1870 the Prince and Princess were present at a meeting for the purpose of raising funds for the opening of a new wing of St. George's Hospital, and the Prince made a helpful speech which showed that he had mastered the administrative problems of hospital management. In 1875 we find him at the German Hospital at

Dalston. "I can assure you," he said, "that it affords me the greatest pleasure and gratification to be your chairman on the present occasion. The members of my family have now for some years taken a deep interest in this charity, and I take the same interest. This is not at all to be wondered at, considering that we have German blood running in our veins. We have the greatest sympathy with the foreigners who live in our country, and we gladly join in an attempt like this to alleviate their sufferings in every possible way. The President of the German Hospital, the Duke of Cambridge, as did his father before him, takes a warm interest in this institution, and I sincerely hope that our family will

always remain connected with so excellent and admirable a charity."

It was a great day for the German population of London, and the Prince's speech at the dinner brought in £5,000, among the donors being the Emperor William, who sent £200, and the Emperor of Austria, who contributed £100. The Prince's contribution was a hundred guineas. That sum figures as his donation to innumerable charities. He gave freely, and if in after years he suffered

some financial embarrassments, as was undoubtedly the case, it was due not a little to the open-handedness with which he met every appeal to his charitable instincts. To hear of a hospital in need was to write a cheque, to preside at a dinner or a meeting and use his influence to replenish the exchequer.

No one did so much as King Edward



EXAMINATION HALL OF THE BOARD OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, THAMES EMBANKMENT.

for nearly half a century of life to keep the voluntary principle in medical relief for the poor in successful operation. His earning power for the Hospitals during this period is incalculable. Had it not been for his ungrudging labours and his keen mental interest in everything appertaining to the relief of the sick poor, many a hospital would have closed its doors, and there would of necessity have been a much greater extension of the Infirmary system under the Poor Law, with a pro-

portionate increase of the rates. The interest of the Prince naturally extended to the medical profession, of which he was an ardent admirer, and to whom he would frequently pay handsome compliments. These hospital speeches are full of them, and many a physician and surgeon little known outside the hospital he served and his circle of private patients had the honour of finding himself mentioned by the Prince in public. Perhaps we cannot better illustrate his attitude of mind towards the medical profession than by a quotation from a speech he made in support of the Funds of the Royal Medical Benevolent College at Epsom in 1874—a college for the education of the sons of medical men :—

“ It will not be out of place for me to remind you what a difficult profession is that of medicine—what uphill work it is to some, unlike those whom I see around. Some who would have attained high positions may be struck down by illness or by some great sorrow, and for them provision should be made. There is also the case of the eminent man making a large income, but cut off suddenly, before he has made provision for a wife and family now left destitute, though the husband and father may have led a life of usefulness in his profession. Our object is not to make long speeches, nor, I hope, to bore any of those who are assembled here, but you may be assured that, however imperfectly I may have spoken, what I have said I mean most heartily, and when I call upon you this evening to give your support—your liberal support—to this charity I feel sure I shall not call in vain.”

The material for a record of King Edward's activities in the Hospital sphere of social reform is too great and varied

to be handled in detail within a reasonable compass. We can but cite illustrative examples of his efforts to secure adequate medical provision for the poorer classes. Those examples here touched upon must serve to indicate the practical value of his work and the sincerity of spirit with which it was done. No aspect of social effort appealed more strongly to him than the provision of medical aid. His efforts culminated in 1895 in the acceptance of the office of Vice-President of the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund and in the establishment of the Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund. Sir Henry Burdett, in a special number of his journal, *The Hospital*, published shortly after King Edward's death, gave a short but adequate review of what followed after 1895. He points out that in the first year of the Prince of Wales's office as Vice-President the Fund raised the record sum of £60,000. “ King Edward,” he relates, “ took the greatest personal interest in the work of the Sunday Fund in these days, following the figures year by year closely, and he so became impressed with the knowledge and feeling that to save the Metropolitan hospitals as voluntary institutions it was essential that the annual deficiency of upwards of £100,000 a year, which their accounts collectively showed, must be provided by special organisation through voluntary contributions. For ten years King Edward had been studying the hospital question, discussing it in all its bearings and gathering together much information and many facts, which enabled him to understand the immense importance and value to the people of securing the maximum of efficiency in the administration of our great hospitals by encouraging the volun-

tary system of hospital support. Early in 1896 his attention was specially drawn to the condition of Guy's Hospital. After anxious consideration he realised the wisdom of withholding his patronage and help from a great hospital such as this, which was urgently in need of half a million of money, until he was satisfied that the organisation and men responsible for its administration were adequate to the task which they had in hand. This decision led to momentous results, which were recorded in the proceedings at the most famous festival dinner ever held in support of a hospital. This was the Guy's Hospital dinner on the 10th of June, 1896, which was held at the Imperial Institute

under the presidency of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, as he then was. That dinner produced a sum of £167,528, in addition to a large annual revenue from increased annual subscriptions, which, if capitalised, would have represented an additional sum of approximately £200,000. Guy's was further supported by H.R.H. the Duke of York, now King George V., who became its President in the same year.

"The yielding of the Hospital Sunday Fund, after reaching a maximum of £60,000 in

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1895, fell back in subsequent years, and King Edward became strongly impressed with the conviction that the contention of his advisers, that a special effort by a new organisation was essential to add £100,000 to £150,000 a year to the resources of the voluntary hospitals of

London, was well founded and should prevail. Accordingly he discussed with Mr. (now Sir Henry) Burdett, towards the end of 1896, what action it was desirable to take to provide the £100,000 a year so urgently needed by the Metropolitan hospitals. He asked Mr. Burdett to prepare and submit in writing the scheme for an organisation by which this work could be undertaken with the best prospect of



Photo: Ellis & Walery.
SIR HENRY BURDETT.

success, and when it was completed he took it with him to Windsor, submitted it to Queen Victoria, and then invited the leading men of all shades of opinion to meet him at Marlborough House on the 21st of January, 1897, to which meeting the scheme was submitted. It was then approved. On the 15th of February, 1897, he issued to the public his famous letter, which resulted in the establishment of the Prince of Wales's Hospital Fund for London. On the 17th

of November, 1901, the King expressed the wish that the name of the Fund should be changed to King Edward's Hospital Fund for London.

"This brief history shows the keen interest and personal service rendered by King Edward to our hospital system. He never ceased to display the keenest interest in everything which affected the efficient administration of charities of all kinds, and especially of hospitals and kindred institutions for the care of the sick. King Edward, with great practical

wisdom, after full consideration, instituted the League of Mercy to extend the area of givers to hospitals to the humblest citizens. He was one of the first habitually to practise personal service in the cause of the sick. He so set an example which will be followed with enthusiasm by all who really loved their King and desire to do honour to his memory."

Thus fittingly can we close the record of the late King's activities in the cause of Charity.



Photo : Photographic Tourists Association.

GUY'S HOSPITAL, LONDON.

CHAPTER VI

SOME LONDON AND PROVINCIAL CEREMONIES

Laying the Foundation-Stone of the British and Foreign Bible Society—The New Glasgow University Buildings—A Visit to Manchester—The Opening of the Thames Embankment—A Trip to Ireland—The Prince on Landlordism—Red-letter Days in Freemasonry—Completion of the Breakwater at Portland—The Prince in the Temple—A Visit to the *Britannia*—King George V. Begins his Naval Training—Back Again in London—Opening of the Birkbeck Institute—Visits to Leeds and Liverpool—The Mersey Tunnel Opened—The Musical Associations of the Royal Family—Conferences at St. James's Palace and Marlborough House—Albert Edward's Enthusiasm for Music—The Establishment of the Royal College of Music—Its Aims and National Character—London Exhibitions of the 'Eighties—Cultivating Imperialism—The Imperial Institute.

ILLUSTRATIVE examples have been given of the work of the Prince of Wales in the cause of charity, and we propose in this chapter to touch upon the more important of his appearances in London and the provinces as representative of Queen Victoria on public occasions. No complete record can be attempted of the many appearances every year for more than thirty years. We have already dealt with the visits to Birmingham and to Norwich. In 1866 the Prince laid the foundation-stone of the imposing building of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in Queen Victoria Street, London, the mere mention of which must suffice. In 1868 the Prince, with the Princess, went to Glasgow to lay the foundation-stone of the splendid pile of University Buildings on Gilmore Hill. Whoever has been north of the Tweed will have brought from Glasgow an ineffaceable mental picture of the fine use Gilbert Scott made of the site. The money was found partly by the sale of the old University site fronting the High Street, and a Parliamentary grant of £120,000, and partly from donations from citizens of Glasgow, and wealthy Scotsmen elsewhere.

The Prince laid the foundation-stone in the presence of a great and enthusiastic multitude, and he was made a member and graduate of the University. "The presence," he said, "of so many of all classes of the citizens of Glasgow around me, and their liberal subscriptions for the prosecution of the work, the value they attach to its completion, and their sense of the advantages they and the people of Scotland derive from our institutions, the interest which my lamented father took in the advancement of every branch of science and education, would stimulate me to follow his example and promote by every means in my power the success of your University and the objects for which it has been founded. We may confidently expect that the eminent men educated here in times past are only the precursors of a long train equally to be distinguished by every scientific acquirement. The Princess of Wales rejoices in the opportunity afforded her of taking part in this day's ceremony and cordially thanks you for your kind wishes."

In the following year the Royal Agricultural Show was held in Manchester, and the opening by the Prince of Wales,

as President of the Society, was made the occasion for a remarkable demonstration of loyalty. The Prince characterised Manchester as being second to none in the Empire. "The wise provision of my lamented father and of the Queen, my dear mother, has secured for me at an early age," he observed, "the advantages of visiting the centres of the world, the most remarkable and the most deserving of study for their interest and for their



THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

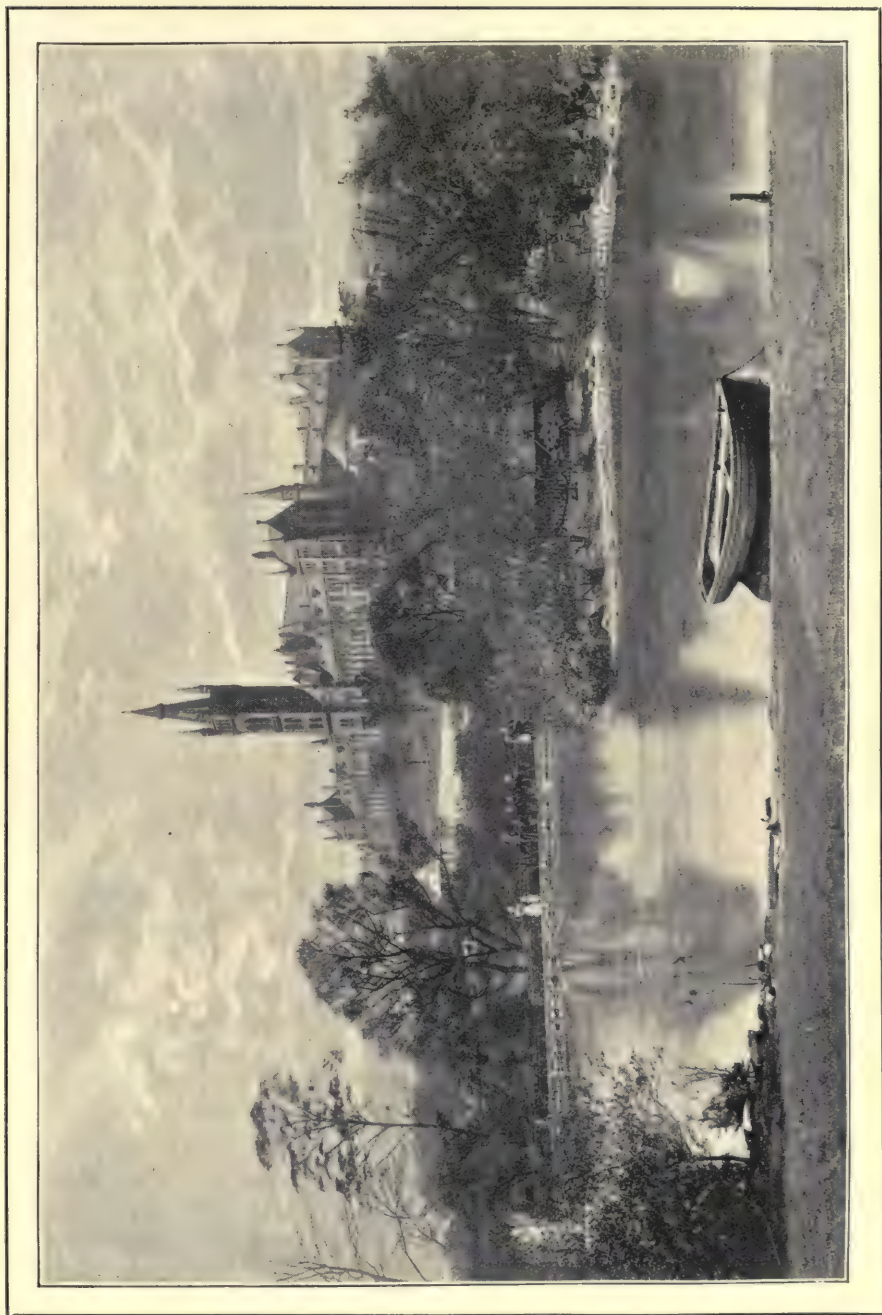
development of the elements of wealth. In admiring, and, I trust, appreciating, the successful result that has distinguished foreign exertions, I have also learnt to look with increased admiration on those wonderful works of human ingenuity, perseverance, and industry, the products of the heads and hands of my own countrymen, and especially of those who now surround me. May we all be grateful, gentlemen, to a superintending Providence, which has blessed the efforts of our commercial enterprise and the free institutions of our country,—themselves a pledge of our future prosperity."

Of the Prince of Wales's many London appearances not the least notable was his opening, on behalf of the Queen, of the Thames Embankment from Westminster to Blackfriars, the date the 13th of July, 1870. The work had been twenty years in progress, and it converted a river frontage of ugly buildings and mud foreshores into a noble and beautiful boulevard. Since then palatial buildings have been erected along the arc formed

by the bold sweep of the Thames at this part of its course, and the scene is one of massive nobility unsurpassed by the river frontage of any other city in the world. The view at night when crossing the bridges from the south—illuminated as the embankment now is by brilliantly lighted hotels and the moving halls of light formed by the electric trams—is perhaps finer than that which any other capital affords. The majesty and beauty of Imperial London are revealed in a flash as the eye sweeps along the noble curve

from the Houses of Parliament in the West to the dome of St. Paul's and the clustering city churches in the East. Nor is the view less superb in the daylight, with London stretched out beyond the river frontage in a gradual rise to the heights of the North and away to the river levels of the East, the grey stone of the ancient Tower on the one hand and of the Abbey on the other, telling a story of a thousand years of national and civic life.

"We must all rejoice," said the Prince, in performing the opening ceremony, "that while the Embankment and the noble roadway, which I am happy this



THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.



Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill.

THE THAMES EMBANKMENT AS IT WAS, LOOKING EASTWARD FROM
WATERLOO BRIDGE.

day to open in the name of Her Majesty, add largely to the beauty and convenience of the Metropolis, the works connected with them may be expected materially to diminish the sources of disease and suffering to the inhabitants of this bank of the Thames. In no public work of this vast capital has the liberal and enterprising spirit of its citizens and the genius and resources of our civil engineers been more signally displayed. I am commanded by the Queen to congratulate you cordially on the issue of your labours in undertakings which promise to be so enduring and so beneficent."

Let it be added that the engineer was Sir Joseph Bazalgette, a name that will last in the history of London as long as the granite of the Embankment,

In 1871 we find the Prince again in Ireland, at the annual show of the Royal Agricultural Society. In proposing the health of the Lord-Lieutenant and prosperity to Ireland, he commented on the improvement in the state of the country, as shown by decreasing pauperism and agrarian crime; and he gave some plain hints to the absentee landlord class, which is now, happily, being expropriated from the country:—

"I am assured that if the many gentlemen and landlords who very often find some difficulty in leaving England, but who have large interests and large estates in this country, could contrive to come over here more frequently it would do more good than anything else I could imagine. I am certain that they are

anxious to come over, and that their relations with their tenantry and those around them should be in every respect good. I may also here refer to the great improvement made in the erection of farm buildings and cottages. Beyond doubt there has been progress in the direction of improvement there; but still I believe much yet remains to be done. Everything depends upon the well-being of the people, and if they are properly lodged it tends to cleanliness, and very possibly to moral advantage. Perhaps I may be allowed to speak of a slight personal experience in that matter. I have a small estate in Norfolk, and observed myself the greatest importance of providing suitable small cottages for those resident there, and, having done so, now

reap immense advantage. I am sure that this is a question which belongs in itself to the well-being of Irish agriculture, and which will accordingly receive the best consideration of this society."

Those of us who have been in close contact with the work of Parliament in recent decades, and have endeavoured to look beneath the surface of the problem of Irish discontent will best be able to appreciate the statesmanlike courage of those references to absentee landlordism in Ireland, and the evil housing of the peasantry. These words were uttered nearly forty years ago. They are commonplaces now; they were not so then. They contain the germ of all subsequent land and housing legislation for Ireland, the culmination of which



AN IRISH EVICTION OF 1870.

is to be found in the Wyndham Land Act of 1903 and the Birrell Act of 1909; and if the truth were known—and it cannot be fully known until the private papers of King Edward are available or memoirs of him appear by contemporaries who were his intimates—it will probably be found that for nearly half a century his influence was steadily exerted against the foes of progressive agrarian legislation in Ireland. He was a good landlord himself—a residential landlord, and a housing reformer; and it is easy to read between the lines of this speech what his mental attitude was towards that section of the Irish land-owning class who were oblivious to the deplorable condition of their tenants or dependents.

While in Dublin on this occasion His Royal Highness was installed as Grand Patron of the Masonic Institution in Ireland. He gave some biographical particulars of his Masonic career up to that time:—

“It is true I have not been a Mason very long. I was initiated, as you perhaps know, in London, a few years ago, after which I visited the Grand Original Lodge of Denmark, and a short time afterwards I had the signal satisfaction of being elected a Past Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England. Last year I had the honour of being elected Patron of the Order in Scotland; and, Brethren, though last, not least, comes the special honour you have conferred on me. I thank you for it from the bottom of my heart. I may, I think, refer with some pride to the number of Masonic meetings I have attended in England since my initiation as a proof of my deep attachment to your Order. I know—we

all know—how good and holy a thing Freemasonry is, how excellent are its principles, and how perfect the doctrine it sets forth; but forgive me if I remind you that some of our friends outside are not so well acquainted with its merits as we are ourselves, and that a most mistaken idea prevails in some minds that, because we are a secret society, we meet for political purposes, or have a political bias in what we do. I am delighted, Brethren, to have this opportunity of proclaiming what I am satisfied you will agree with me in—that we have as Masons no politics; that the great object of our Order is to strengthen the bonds of fraternal affection, and to make us live in pure and Christian love with all men; that though a secret we are not a political body; and that our Masonic principles and hopes are essential parts of our attachment to the Constitution and loyalty to the Crown.”

Fifteen years after—on the 1st of July, 1886—the Prince was installed at Freemasons’ Hall, Grand Mark Master of the English Freemasons—an enthronement attended by representative Mark Masons from all parts of the Empire. It was a red-letter day in the annals of British Freemasonry. In 1875 he had graduated as Grand Master, the scene being the Royal Albert Hall, which was filled with several thousand members of the Craft. They gave him a tumultuous reception: enthusiasm overruled ceremonial etiquette. “I shall never forget to-day—never!” said the Prince. In the course of his speech he thus defined his view of Masonry: “Every Englishman knows that the two great watchwords of the craft are Loyalty and Charity. These are their watchwords, and as long as



Photo: Russell.

The Duke of Connaught.

The Prince of Wales.

The Duke of Clarence.

SOME ROYAL FREEMASONS IN 1886.

Freemasons do not, as Freemasons, mix themselves up in politics so long, I am sure, this high and noble order will flourish and will maintain the integrity of our great Empire."

To revert to the record of duties in connection with works of public utility. Among these was the laying of the final stone of the breakwater at Portland. Thus runs the inscription—the last line the choice of the Prince:—

From this spot, on the 25th of July, 1849, His Royal Highness Prince Albert, Consort of Queen Victoria, deposited the first stone of this breakwater. Upon the same spot, on the 11th

of August, 1872, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, laid this last stone, and declared the work complete.

"These are imperial works, and worthy Kings."

In December the Prince went to Derby from Chatsworth, where he was the guest of the Duke of Devonshire, to present the prizes at the Grammar School of the ancient town; and he was there again in 1888 to open new class-rooms, which had been built to commemorate his visit. It will have been noticed how, as time passed, the Prince of Wales linked his personality with that of class after class of the com-



THE BREAKWATER AT PORTLAND.

munity—cabmen, doctors, engineers, Freemasons, and so forth. In 1874 he associated himself with the lawyers by becoming a Bencher of the Middle

honour of being enrolled as a member of this Inn. My relations with you are, unfortunately, of an almost honorary character, but I can assure you that I



Photo: W. & D. Downey.

ALBERT EDWARD AS A BENCHER OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

Temple. A brilliant company thronged the historic hall. Here is the salient passage from the Prince's speech:—

"I cannot feel that I am quite a stranger among you, although it is now nearly thirteen years since I had the

consider it a very high honour to be connected with this Inn. It is, I am sure, a good thing for the profession at large and for the public in general that I have never been called to the Bar, for I must say that I could never have been a

brilliant ornament of it. I can assure you that I esteem highly the honour of dining with you and my brother Benchers this evening, and with those distinguished

legal education which you, Sir, have advocated so admirably. I thank you for the kind way in which you have received me, and I can only assure you that it has

afforded me the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to meet you here this evening in this ancient Hall, where, I am told, Queen Elizabeth once danced with Chancellor Hatton. I am afraid that nowadays the duties of the Chancellor are more arduous than they were then, and that they do not allow him much time to acquire the art of dancing. I cannot help thus reminding you of one of the great historical events which this Hall has witnessed, and I thank you once more for the great honour you have done me in proposing my health and for the cordial reception you have given me."

One of the most interesting visits of this period was that paid in 1877 to the *Britannia* in the river Dart, to



Photo: W. M. Crockett, Plymouth.

THE BRITANNIA DOING HONOUR TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

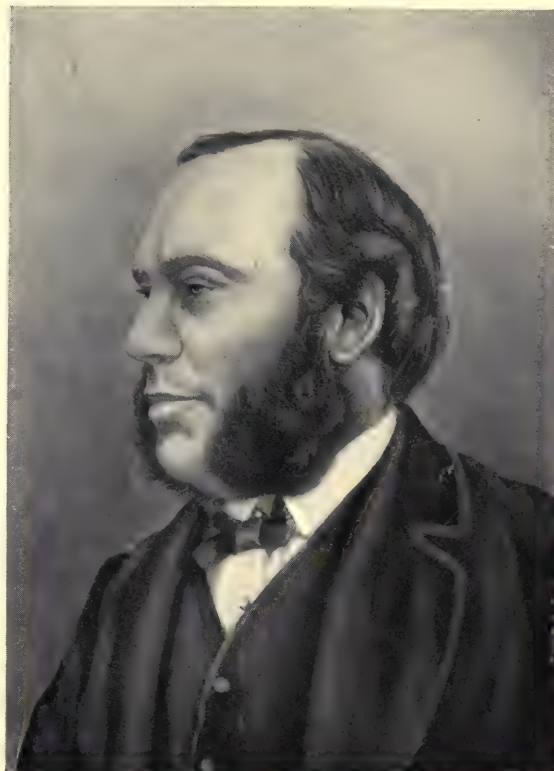
men whom I see around me right and left. I entirely agree with every word that has fallen from the lips of our Master Treasurer, and I sincerely hope that this gathering may tend to much good and to bring forward those important results in

place the late Duke of Clarence and the present Sovereign on that vessel to be trained for the Navy. At the end of the next summer term—the 24th of July, 1878—the Prince and Princess went to the ship to bring the boys home for the

vacation, and the Princess distributed the prizes to the cadets. They steamed to the estuary—one of the most picturesque breaks in the Devonshire coast—on the Royal yacht *Osborne*, and were rowed to the *Britannia* by a cadet crew, one of their sons steering and another at an oar. The first Lord of the Admiralty—the late W. H. Smith, a name of honour in the public life of the time—received the Royal guests, and there was a large company of distinguished guests and parents of the cadets. The distribution of prizes by the Princess was followed by a short speech by the Prince, in which he said that the “personal interest which the Princess and myself take in this ship and the confidence we have of its being an excellent practical school for boys have been testified by the fact that we have sent our two sons among you to be educated. For myself, my only hope and trust is that they may do credit to the ship and to their country.”

While on the subject of education it will be convenient here to make a passing allusion to the opening by the Prince of Wales, on the 14th of July, 1885, of the Birkbeck Institute in Bream's Buildings, near Chancery Lane. Many thousands of Londoners owe no small measure of their success in life to the wise munificence of Dr. Birkbeck, who, as far back as 1825, saw the need of providing facilities for evening instruction for ambitious youths of the working classes. The Duke of Albany had laid the foundation-stone in 1883, but that gifted and amiable Prince

had died before the building was finished—a circumstance to which the Heir to the Throne made tactful and sympathetic allusion. The Prince reminded his audience that the Duke of Sussex had inaugurated the original building sixty years before:—



MR. W. H. SMITH.

“It speaks much for the vitality of your institution,” he observed, “that after so lengthened a period a member of my family should be again invited to declare open a building so extensive as this one, the erection of which has been absolutely demanded by the expansion of your work. An institution in which provision is made for 6,000 students, and to which both sexes are invited, must exert

a very beneficial influence on the young men and women of the Metropolis, for whose mental advancement it has been erected. Many of the students in the old building have worthily distinguished themselves, and it behoves those who partake of the greater advantages of the new institution to emulate the noble

has exerted a very powerful influence for good. With a vitality so potent we may look forward to the time when even this extensive building will be insufficient for your needs."

The prophecy was fulfilled, and "The Birkbeck" became one of the educational glories of London—the precursor



THE LABORATORY OF THE BIRKBECK INSTITUTE.

examples which have been set by their predecessors. . . . The success of Dr. Birkbeck's work is to be traced in the fact that, in the words of Professor Tyndall, 'it responded at the proper time to a national need, and to a need of human nature.'

"This institution has anticipated some of the beneficent movements of the age, and by its technical instruction, and the admission of both sexes to its advantages,

of that net-work of evening continuation schools which has extended over every important city in the land, and would be of incalculable benefit to the State if working-class youths of both sexes were able to attend them less exhausted by long hours of bread winning labour and far journeys to and from their work. Note should here be made also of the visit in July, 1885, to the Yorkshire College at Leeds, which has since become a Univer-

sity and has done magnificent work in technical instruction, with especial regard to the textile, mining and engineering industries of the North. Here the Prince said: "I have for a long time been deeply impressed with the

advisability of establishing in our great centres of population colleges and schools, not only for promoting the intellectual advancement of the people, but also, as you have very justly observed, for increasing their prosperity by furthering the application of scientific knowledge to the industrial arts. I rejoice to hear that your laudable endeavours have been duly appreciated and have received liberal support from various quarters, and I beg to offer my most



Photo: Hudson.

YORKSHIRE COLLEGE, LEEDS.

hearty congratulations to the great Company of the Clothworkers of the City of London for their judicious and liberal encouragement of your College—an example which, I trust, will ere long find many ready followers.

. . . This is certainly not the first visit I have paid to Leeds, as I did so some seventeen years ago; but the pleasure on this occasion is enhanced in my eyes, as the Princess has been able to accompany me. The Mayor also alluded to the fact that the visit of the Queen and of my lamented father had not been forgotten, and we were glad to visit that very Town Hall which they opened some twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago. I consider that the object of our visit here is connected in some respects



Photo: Chester Vaughan.

EATON HALL, CHESHIRE.

with the visit of the Queen and my lamented father, as he alluded at that time to the great importance of scientific and technical education, and of a great town like this if possible taking up the matter. In opening to-day that important and useful building, the Yorkshire College, I feel I may in some way have followed in his footsteps, by having been

Eaton Hall, where they were the guests of the Duke of Westminster. The Prince's speech at the luncheon gives so compact a history of this momentous undertaking that we venture to quote it and there leave the subject, adding, however, the remark that the Royal visitors had a reception such as Lancashire only can give. He was convinced, he said, that



ST. GEORGE'S HALL, LIVERPOOL.

Photo: Poulton.

the means of promoting what is of the greatest importance to our country, and what is also of the greatest importance to the success of our great commercial enterprises—viz., technical and scientific education.”

On the 20th of January, 1886, the Prince of Wales opened the Mersey Tunnel, and it is interesting to note that the present Sovereign, with the late Duke of Clarence, accompanied him on this occasion, the lads being driven over from

the work would be of great benefit, not only to the town of Liverpool, but to the vast commercial resources of this and surrounding towns:—

“The difficulties in making a subterranean or subaqueous railway are only too clear. You have hitherto had means of taking passengers and goods over the river by steam ferries. I am aware that this right has existed a long time—I believe as far back as the eleventh century. But it is a remarkable fact that

in the last year you conveyed across the Mersey, from Birkenhead to Liverpool, on the steam ferries 26,000,000 passengers and 750,000 tons of goods. You may say such being the case, why do you require to have this tunnel and to have your railway to connect Liverpool and Birkenhead? The answer is that you have to encounter storms, you have to encounter fogs, and you have to encounter ice. Both your passengers and your goods are very frequently imperilled. Therefore, a great engineering scheme of this kind, which will be a very great boon, is one deserving of encouragement. Not only will it benefit the commerce of the north-west of England, but it will also open up a railway system to Wales and that beautiful, picturesque country with all its health-giving resorts. Great praise is due to Major Isaac for the indefatigable manner in which he has

carried out this work and has found the capital, and we have also to recognise the indomitable energies of Mr. Brunlees and Mr. Fox, the engineers, and I must not forget to mention the name of Mr. Waddell, the contractor. At the head of this company we find my right hon. friend, Mr. Cecil Raikes, who has had a long experience in railways. Before sitting down,



THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC (OLD BUILDING).

as I know there is no time for long speeches, I wish most cordially to drink 'Prosperity to the Mersey Railway,' which I am sure

you will drink most heartily, and to connect with the toast the name of its chairman, Mr. Cecil Raikes."



THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC (NEW BUILDING).

A volume could be filled with similar records of public duties, graced by speeches of wise and sympathetic encouragement of works of public utility or schemes for the furtherance of social well-being among the poor. But the limits of space prevent further pursuit of this many-sided theme. Two other aspects of the Prince's public activities call for treatment in this place — the inauguration of the Royal College of Music and the series of London Exhibitions of which the Prince of Wales was President.

To the establishment of the Royal College of Music at South Kensington the Prince of Wales devoted much time and thought, as did other members of the Royal Family, notably the Duke of Edinburgh, a skilled executant on the violin whom many people will remember having seen taking his part in orchestral performances. The Prince appears to have been impressed with the backward condition of music in England at a comparatively early stage of his life, and he was Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Society of Arts in 1865 which reported on the facilities for musical education in this country, after an exhaustive examination

of the means available in Continental cities. An outcome of that report was the establishment of the National Training School for Music adjoining the Albert Hall, an achievement made possible by the munificence of Mr. Freaque. The history of this enterprise was narrated by the Prince in a speech at a Conference which he called at Marlborough House for



THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC, ENTRANCE HALL.

the provision of scholarships for students. This was entirely successful, and the Training School flourished. In 1878 the Prince called a further Conference at his London house with the idea of effecting a union of the Royal Academy of Music, which had been in rather somnolent existence since 1822, and the Training School. The project did not find favour with the Academy authorities, and the Prince's proposals for union fell through. But a Royal College of Music the Prince and the

Royal family had determined to have, and the task was steadfastly pursued in private. By 1882 matters had so far advanced that the Prince called a meeting for the purpose of raising the funds. It was held on the 28th of February in that year, in the banqueting hall of St. James's Palace, and was attended by representatives of the counties and towns of England



SIR GEORGE GROVE.

and many persons of influence in various walks of life. The speech is one of the longest, if not the longest, the Prince ever made. Having given with commendable lucidity a detailed exposition of his proposals, the Prince made his intentions still clearer in the following passage :—

“ I have not brought you here to ask your aid for the support only of a school calculated to advance music by giving the best instruction continued over a course of years. This might be done by strengthening existing schools. I have not brought you here for the sole purpose of asking for assistance whereby to

educate young and deserving musicians. Such an institution is but a branch of what I desire to found. My object is above and beyond all this. I wish to establish an institution having a wider basis and a more extended influence than any existing school or college of music in this country. It will teach music of the highest class ; it will have a foundation for the education, and in some cases for the free maintenance, of scholars who have obtained by merit the right to such privileges. But it will do more than this. It will be to England what the Berlin Conservatoire is to Germany, what the Paris Conservatoire is to France, or the Vienna Conservatoire to Austria—the recognised centre and head of the musical world. Why is it that Germany, France, Italy have national styles of music ? Why is it that England has no music recognised as national ? It has able composers, but nothing indicative of the national life or national feeling. The reason is not far to seek. There is no centre of music to which English musicians may resort with confidence and thence derive instruction, counsel, and inspiration. I hope by the breadth of my plan to interest all present in its success. You who are musicians must desire to improve your art, and such will be the object of the Royal College. You who are only lovers of music must wish well to a plan which provides for all classes of Her Majesty's subjects a pleasure which you yourselves enjoy so keenly. To those who are deaf to music, as practical men, I would say thus much—to raise the people you must purify their emotions and cultivate their imaginations. To satisfy the natural craving for excitement, you must substitute an innocent and healthy mode

of acting on the passions, for the fierce thirst for drink and eager pursuit of other unworthy objects. Music acts directly on the emotions, and it cannot be abused, for no excess in music is injurious."

The Duke of Edinburgh also made a notable speech in support of the project, and among the other speakers were Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery.

A project launched under such distinguished and influential auspices was bound to succeed, but many other meetings were held and much personal work done by the Prince before success was assured. One of these Marlborough House meetings was called for the purpose of enlisting Colonial aid, and the Colonies were appealed to in a letter by the Prince, which was circulated through the medium of the Colonial Office. The College was inaugurated under the direction of Sir George Grove on the 7th of May, 1883. The Prince and Princess of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, and many distinguished people were present. Sir George Grove gave a history of the enterprise, from which it appeared that over £110,000 had been raised, "of which nearly £5,000 was due to the gracious action of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales." Commenting upon the Director's address, the Prince of Wales expressed his thanks for the liberal financial aid that had been afforded him, and noted with gratitude the foundation of two Australian scholarships. He gave a résumé of what had been actually accomplished, in concluding which he said:—"I feel, then, that one great object of a College of Music has been secured—namely, the discovery of latent musical ability and the extension to those who, with great natural gifts, have been

blessed with little of this world's goods, of the opportunity of obtaining instruction in music, to say the least, not inferior to any which this kingdom can afford."

In a passage which approaches nearer to eloquence than any other in the public speeches of the Prince, he pointed out that it was a reproach to England that, with her vast resources, her large benevol-



SIR ARTHUR SULLIVAN.

ence, her eagerness to instruct all classes of society in other branches of knowledge, one thing had hitherto been wanted—a national institution for music. "Yet music is, in a sense, the most popular of arts. If that Government be the best which provides for the happiness of the greatest number, that art must be the best which at the least expense pleases the greatest number." The speech concluded with the following paragraph. The reader will note its dignity of thought, the excellence of its language, the graceful tact of its personal allusions:—

"The establishment of an institution such as I open to-day is not the mere

creation of a new musical society. The time has come when class can no longer stand aloof from class, and that man does his duty best who works most earnestly in bridging over the gulf between different classes which it is the tendency of increased wealth and increased civilisation to widen. I claim for music the merit that it has a voice which speaks, in different tones, perhaps, but with equal force, to the cultivated and the ignorant, to the peer and the peasant. I claim for music a variety of expression which belongs to no other art and therefore adapts it more than any other art to produce that union of feeling which I much desire to promote. Lastly, I claim for music the distinction which is awarded to it by Addison—that it is the only sensuous pleasure in which excess cannot be injurious. What more, gentlemen, can I say on behalf of the art for the promotion of which we are to-day opening this institution—an institution which I trust will give to music a new impulse, a glorious future, and a national life? Before I quit this room a further duty devolves on me—a most gratifying one, I admit. I am called upon to announce a most gracious act by which the Queen has been pleased to mark her interest in the opening of the Royal College. Her Majesty authorises me to say that she proposes to confer the honour of knighthood on Professor Macfarren and Dr. Sullivan. If anything could add to my satisfaction in making this statement it is this, that these honours are bestowed by the advice of the Prime Minister, who has taken so kind an interest in the promotion of the Royal College, and who could have devised no better mode of celebrating its opening than by recom-

mending that honour should be done on this occasion to music by conferring knighthood on men so celebrated in their art as Professor Macfarren and Dr. Sullivan, and that honour should be done to our college by awarding a like distinction to its director, Dr. Grove, who, eminent in general literature, has specially devoted himself to the preparation and publication of a dictionary of music, and has earned our gratitude by the skill and success with which he has worked in the difficult task of organising the Royal College. I have only to add that the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) by his presence to-day proves that neither the cares of State nor the overwhelming press of business by which he is surrounded prevents him from giving personal countenance to a national undertaking which, if I am right in what I have said, is calculated to advance the happiness and elevate the character of the English people."

This is not the place to record the work done by the College. We are not yet a musical nation; the College has not yet made us that, but from no lack of thought or effort on the part of Albert Edward, either as Prince of Wales or when King. He put some of the best work of his life into this institution, and he had the satisfaction of seeing it prosper exceedingly in a handsome building provided by the generosity of Mr. Samson Fox.

The eagerness of the Prince of Wales to identify himself with everything likely to advance the social welfare of his countrymen led him to take an active part in the promotion of a series of Exhibitions which added to the interest and gaiety of London in the 'eighties,

and were of high educative value. The first of these was the Fisheries Exhibition, which was opened by the Prince on the 12th of May, 1883, and was a brilliant success from every point of view, including the financial, for there was a surplus at the close of the season of £15,000, £10,000 of which was invested for the assistance of widows and orphans of sea fishermen. The Prince made several speeches in connection with this exhibition, showing a keen interest in the fishing population, and a sure grasp of the economics of the industry as a source of food supply. In the following year the buildings at South Kensington were used for the purposes of a Health Exhibition, in the preparation for which the Prince and the Duke of Albany took a liberal share. The untimely death of the Duke of Albany deprived the enterprise of his aid, and prevented the opening of this display by the Prince of Wales; but the Exhibition was well attended, and had a marked effect in stimulating sanitary science. It lacked, however, the intense interest and the picturesqueness of its predecessor. The third of the series—the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886—was, however, a triumphant success.

There had been nothing like it seen in London, and there has been no exhibition since which has equalled it in attractiveness. The credit for the inception of this display of the products and resources of the British Empire unquestionably belongs



A CORNER OF THE EXHIBITION GROUNDS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

to the Prince of Wales, for it was at his instance that Queen Victoria issued the Royal Commission which carried the project through. Of that Commission His Royal Highness was President. In a long speech at Marlborough House in March, 1885, he defined the work of the Commission as that of organising an

exhibition which would bring before the people of his country the resources of every portion of the Empire. The speech is notable for its Imperial quality, and it is not an exaggeration to say that this and other utterances of the Prince at this period, coupled with the educative value of the Exhibition itself, in which all the Colonial governments, great and small, co-operated, had an appreciable effect in tinging public opinion with that Imperialism which has since become so important a factor in our politics. Throughout 1885 and 1886 the Prince of Wales worked constantly and enthusiastically at the project, and he had every reason to be gratified not only with the display, which was a fine representation of the countries which make up the Empire, but also with the responsiveness of the

public, of whom over five and a half millions attended, 'many coming from the uttermost parts of the earth. This Exhibition may, indeed, be regarded as a turning point in national history, in so far as it directed the thoughts of the people to the magnitude and diversity of their heritage across the seas. It depicted the Empire in a manner that had never been attempted. It gave the visitor as he passed from Court to Court realistic scenes of Colonial life, and object lessons in the yet unrealised wealth of the lesser-known possessions. A surplus of £35,235 resulted, and this was applied to the purposes of the Imperial Institute.

[For permission to make the various extracts which are given in this and the preceding chapter, from the speeches of the Prince of Wales, we are indebted to the proprietors of *The Times*.]



THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

CHAPTER VII

THE STORY OF EGYPT

Ismail Pasha's Rule—The Country is Bankrupt—European Control of its Finances—The Rise of Arabi Bey—His Adverse Influence—Riots in Alexandria—The Bombardment—The Fight at Tel-el-Kebir—The Soudan Revolt—The Mahdi and his Conquests—The Hicks Expedition—The Coming of Gordon—Parliamentary Squabbles on the Situation—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone—The Mahdi Proclaimed Sultan of Kordofan—Gordon's Suggestions Ignored—Another Conference of the Powers—Gordon Beleagured in Khartoum—Months of Anxious Waiting—The Fight at Abu Klea—Burnaby's Last Stand—Stewart's Gallant Fight—Relief Comes Too Late—Gordon's Heroic Death—England's "Stain."

IN such bold outline as the limits of space permit, the story of Egypt will now be carried forward to the culminating point of English mastery of the sources of the Nile. The reader will have seen in an earlier volume that King Edward VII. had already obtained by two journeys up the Nile, and much intercourse with leading Egyptians, a knowledge of the affairs of that country possessed by few Englishmen at that time; and it may be stated as a fact that, though, as Heir to the Throne, he took no open share in the party controversies of which Egypt was the subject for a quarter of a century, he displayed a keen and constant interest in the fortunes of the region and acted for and in conjunction with Queen Victoria in settling with her Ministers the lines of English policy. To what extent his personal influence was active and formative is not publicly known. Possibly there is material bearing upon it in the mass of private papers and correspondence which at the time of writing—August, 1910—His Majesty George V. is examining and collating, with Lord Esher's assistance, while on holiday at Balmoral. Unpublished documents left by Lord

Beaconsfield and the late Lord Salisbury may contain information which will show that Edward VII., even when Prince of Wales, was not merely a passive spectator of this exciting drama. But whether new light on this phase of the Prince's life as a non-party statesman is withheld or not, it may with safety be assumed that he kept himself well informed of the course of events, and that the activities of the Sovereign and of the Court in influencing the acts of successive Ministries were guided by his own strong personal interest in Egypt and his not inconsiderable knowledge of the country. With Ismail Pasha, who brought Egypt to bankruptcy, the Prince of Wales was on terms of personal acquaintance, and it is not improbable that Albert Edward may have had something to do with the despatch of the Rt. Hon. Stephen Cave to Cairo to report on the finances of Egypt when the Khedive appealed to England for a further loan. Mr. Cave's report to the Disraeli Government was adverse. The country was hopelessly bankrupt. In 1876 the Khedive repudiated his liabilities. Germany, France, and England severally protested on behalf of the bondholders. Subsequent events have



Photo: Ellicott & Fry.

ISMAIL PASHA.

pointed to the conclusion that the shortest and most effective way out of the difficulty would have been for England to occupy Egypt, and administer it under a Protectorate, taking over her financial liabilities to the bondholders of whatever nationality, a step necessary for the purpose of controlling the highway to India and safeguarding the financial interest we had acquired in the Suez Canal; but Lord Beaconsfield (as Disraeli had now become) and his Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury, could not see their way to take so bold a course. The result was that an attempt was made to reform Egyptian finances in such a way as to resume payment of interest on the bonds, and an English Commissioner, Mr. Rivers Wilson, and a French, M. de Blignières, were associated with a new Ministry under Nubar Pasha. Thus the Dual Control

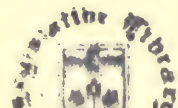
was set up. The Khedive discharged Nubar Pasha, and there was a deadlock, which France and England, in conjunction with the Sultan of Turkey, the Suzerain Power, ended by the deposition of Ismail. His son Tewfik, then a youth, was set up in his stead, and, in addition to the Dual Ministry of Finance in the persons of the French and English Commissioners, there was set up an International Commission of the Public Debt — which amounted to about £91,000,000 — this body consisting of representatives of England, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. Under this system Egypt was “run” in the interest of the bondholders, and, as M. de Blignières proved to be the ablest European in the country, France dominated the situation. The Egyptians, finding themselves as badly off as ever and the country over-run with European officials, grew restive under the system, and a Colonel in the Army, Arabi Bey, assumed the leadership of what proved to be a military revolt, which forced England to occupy the country. We must pass over the genesis of the Arabi agitation with the single remark that it was at bottom a movement against the exploitation of Egypt by the Powers in the interest of the moneylenders of Europe, and a demand for Egyptian control of the Egyptian finances. “Egypt for the Egyptians” — that was the watchword of the Arabi party. There were changes of Ministry, and in the upshot, in January, 1882, Arabi became Minister of War, but in reality he was the head of the Ministry, of which Cherif Pasha was nominal chief. The question for the Powers was whether he should be tolerated — whether Egypt could be ruled with and

through him—or whether he should be overthrown and the nation, or that part of it which would follow him, coerced by arms. M. Gambetta urged coercion upon England, and these two Powers would probably have taken this course together but for the fall of the Gambetta Ministry. His successor, M. Freycinet, reversed the policy of France, which became one of non-intervention in Egypt. M. de Blignières resigned in disgust. The other Powers watched the development of the situation. England was left to handle it as best she might. The Liberals were again installed in power; Lord Beaconsfield was dead; the Dual Control had come to an end with the departure of M. de Blignières. Meanwhile, Arabi was master of Egypt by virtue of his mastery of the Army, and the native population was so hostile to Europeans that a general massacre was feared. On the 11th of June, 1882, there were riots in Alexandria, and many French and English subjects were slain. This was followed by a stampede of the foreign population of Cairo and Alexandria. French and English warships lay off the latter city. Arabi Pasha strengthened the forts and prepared to fight. On the 10th of July Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, in command of the British squadron, demanded the surrender of the forts on pain of bombardment. France refused to join in this demand. On the 11th the British Fleet bombarded the forts and destroyed them, and the Khedive, whose Court was at Alexandria, fled to Ramleh. Arabi entrenched the Egyptian army in a position at Tel-el-Kebir, and Mr. Gladstone's Government sent out an expedition under Sir Garnet—afterwards Lord—Wolseley to dislodge him and

secure the safety of the Suez Canal. Admiral Seymour had meanwhile occupied Alexandria and brought back the Khedive. On the 19th of August the English expedition arrived at Ismailia, among the staff being the Duke of Connaught. The objective was Cairo. Between the city and the British troops lay the Egyptian army, with advance bodies at Kassassin. A midnight cavalry charge swept the Arabists there back into the desert. Arabi awaited the expedition in his trenches at Tel-el-Kebir. At daybreak on the 13th of September, after a night march over the sands, Sir Garnet Wolseley's force came in sight of the camp. The trenches were shelled and then rushed and carried by the infantry. The way was thus cleared to Cairo, which capitulated without a fight, Arabi Pasha surrendering himself as prisoner. He was deported, and spent the remainder



ADMIRAL SIR BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR.





THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIEWED FROM THE
FORTIFICATIONS.

of his days in exile in Ceylon. On the 25th of September the Khedive returned to Cairo and reviewed the British army. The expedition had cost England nearly five millions. Politically, its effects were stupendous. Mr. Gladstone announced that our occupation of the country would be temporary, and that we would evacuate whenever the Khedive could maintain himself on the throne unassisted.

pelled those who could not get back into Egypt to retire to the swamps near the great lakes. The Khedive sent an army south in 1883 under Colonel Hicks to suppress the revolt. It was surprised by the dervishes at El Obeid and cut to pieces, a few only returning to Wady Halfa to tell the story of the massacre. The British Government had sanctioned this expedition, but lent

The pledge was honestly given; events were to prove that its fulfilment was impracticable. The evacuation of Egypt has ceased to be the policy of responsible statesmen of either Party.

The next act in the drama was the revolt of the Soudan provinces under the leadership of a religious reformer known as the Mahdi. The reader will remember how the founder of the Khedivate extended his conquests to the Equator; and it will be easy to imagine how slight the hold of the Egyptian Government had become over the region in the south during the incompetent reign of his extravagant successors. One by one the Mahdi overwhelmed the Egyptian garrisons, and com-

no troops. Some share of the responsibility and discredit for the disaster thus attached to us. The issue was whether the Soudan should be reconquered or left to the Mahdi. Reconquest was soon seen to be a work of gigantic difficulty and the idea was dropped, the policy of England and Egypt being that of relieving the garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere and holding the Red Sea littoral and the valley of the Nile as far as Wady Halfa. Just before the military successes of the Mahdi the Government had contemplated, as an earnest of their intention to evacuate the country, the reduction of the garrison of Egypt, which numbered 10,000 British troops: but the annihilation of the Hicks expedition

swept that policy out of existence. It produced a situation of acute embarrassment and one in which the Gladstonian Ministry lacked the courage to decide which of the two courses already referred to they should take. Each was judged to be impracticable, the first on the ground of cost and the second because the garrison at Khartoum could not be left to its fate. We must pass swiftly over a tangled and tragic story. General Charles Gordon had been Governor of the Soudan under Ismail Pasha, and to him the Government turned in their difficulty. It was thought that by his personal influence he could bring the Egyptian troops away from Khartoum, and at a moment's notice he undertook



THE SURRENDER OF ARABI PASHA AFTER TEL-EL-KEBIR.

this hazardous mission. Arriving at Cairo on the 23rd of January, 1884, he left forthwith for the south, armed with a firman from the Khedive appointing him Governor-General of the Soudan. Mean-

and in the country, and General Gordon's mission caused intense interest and eager hopes. On the 7th of February Sir Stafford Northcote — afterwards Lord Iddesleigh — moved a vote of censure on

the Government for its "vacillating and inconsistent policy" in the Soudan. The Opposition, says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," "toiled with wearisome iteration to prove that England, having incurred responsibility for the government of Egypt after Tel-el-Kebir, was responsible for the massacre of Hicks Pasha and his army. So she was, but instead of drawing the logical inference from the facts, namely, that the English authorities in Egypt were to blame for not vetoing Hicks's expedition, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Salisbury blamed the English Government for not helping him with 'advice,' and for not forcing the Khedive to make his army strong



AN AUTOGRAPHED SKETCH OF ARABI PASHA.

After the Portrait by Frederick Villiers in A. M. Broadley's "How we Defended Arabi and His Friends."

while the Egyptian troops on the littoral had suffered further reverses at the hands of the Mahdi, and Baker Pasha — an English officer whose career in the home army had been ended by a scandalous error — had been forced back to Suakin. There were excited discussions in Parliament

enough for its task. Here it became manifest to the House of Commons that the Opposition had only got up a sham faction fight. For when Sir Stafford Northcote hotly repudiated the notion that he would have sent a British army to reinforce Hicks, or avenge his death, he



THE ATTACK ON THE BRITISH SQUARE AT TEL-EL-KEBIR.

gave up his whole case. It was then seen that the alternative policy of the Opposition was to goad the Egyptian Government to a war of reconquest in the Soudan, and in the event of failure to leave it in the lurch. Alike in the Commons and in the Lords the responsible leaders of the Opposition admitted that Mr. Gladstone was right in advising Egypt to abandon the Soudan, and in refusing to send British troops there to conduct the



GENERAL GORDON.

evacuation. What they argued was that he was wrong in not telling the Khedive's Cabinet how to get out of the Soudan, though he would in that event, according to them, have been quite right to refuse the Khedive aid, if, in acting on Mr. Gladstone's suggestions, his Highness met with disaster in the rebellious province. It was a sad surprise to Lord Salisbury to find his censure carried in the Upper House only by a vote of 181 to 81—for the majority did not represent half of a Chamber two-thirds of which were his followers. It was, however, no surprise to Sir Stafford Northcote to find his motion rejected in the House of Commons, though he had the advantage of the Irish

vote. As for the country, its verdict was that there was no difference between the two parties except on one point. The Tories would have pestered the Khedive with instructions, but would have repudiated responsibility for them if when acted on they had ended in failure. The Government had, through fear of incurring this responsibility, left the Khedive too much to his own devices, and when these brought trouble they found they could not get rid of all responsibility for it.

"What ought to have been said was what neither Lord Salisbury nor Sir Stafford Northcote dared say. It was that England, after Tel-el-Kebir, should have boldly proclaimed a Protectorate over Egypt, the moral authority of which would have sufficed to hold her fretful and mutinous provinces in awe, till steps for their reconstruction could be taken. Failure seemingly rendered the Opposition reckless. Even the heroic and high-hearted envoy of the Government at Khartoum did not escape the shafts of their malice. He had proclaimed the Mahdi as Sultan of Kordofan in order to induce him to negotiate for the peaceful withdrawal of the garrisons. He had burned in public the archives of the Egyptian Government, in which the arrears of taxes were recorded, as a pledge that the oppressed people of Khartoum should be no longer the prey of corrupt extortioners. He had set free the prisoners who were unjustly pining in the gaols. He had proclaimed that the right of property in domestic slaves would be recognised—thereby neutralising the intrigues of the Mahdists, who were persuading the wavering people that if they remained true to Egypt the Government would rob them of their household ser-

vants. Finding it impossible to discover a less objectionable native chief fit to undertake the task of keeping order at Khartoum, Gordon recommended for that purpose his old enemy, Zebehr Pasha, once known as 'King of the Slave-Traders.'

"The Tories now attacked Gordon and his policy with much bitterness. They jeered at him as a madman. They denounced him for sanctioning slavery—he who had given the best days of his life to the suppression of the trade. They tried to rouse public opinion against the Government for tolerating his proceedings. In fact, no effort was wanting to embarrass him and the Ministry in solving the difficult problem of extricating the military and civil population of Khartoum from their dangerous position. The factiousness of the Opposition had one bad result. It frightened the Government into refusing their sanction to Gordon's proposal for handing over Khartoum to Zebehr Pasha. For at this time the Tories delighted to describe Zebehr as the kind of monster of savagery with whom a statesman of Mr. Gladstone's character naturally sought a close alliance.

"When the tidings of General Baker's defeat at Teb were followed by news of the massacre of the garrison of Sinkat, Ministers, in obedience to public opinion, decided to abandon their policy of inaction in the Soudan. On the 9th of February Admiral Hewett took supreme command at Suakin. On the 18th a small British force under General Graham landed at that place. By this time Tokar had fallen, but Graham, advancing from Trinkitat, fought and beat the Arabs under Osman Digna at El Teb. Osman retired to Tamanieb, and was attacked there by

Graham on the 13th of March. At first the British force wavered and broke under the impetuous shock of the Arab charge, but in the end the Arabs were defeated and Osman Digna's camp was destroyed. Gordon had made an unsuccessful sortie from Khartoum on the 16th of March, and he had found not only his army, but the civil population of the city, honeycombed with treason. In vain he implored the Government to send two squadrons of



HICKS PASHA

cavalry to Berber to aid the escape of two thousand fugitives whom he proposed to send down the Nile. The Government, notwithstanding, recalled General Graham and his troops from Suakin, thereby leading the Arabs to believe that Gordon was abandoned by his countrymen. His negotiations with the Mahdi were not successful. In May his protests against the desertion of Khartoum were published in official form, and the Opposition then gave expression to popular opinion when they moved, though they did not carry, another vote of censure on the Ministry. When the Government was questioned on the matter their defence was that Gordon was in no danger, and that when

he was Ministers would quickly send him aid. The financial position of Egypt was now so bad that Mr. Gladstone resolved to ease the pressure of her debt at the expense of the bondholders. For this purpose it was necessary to summon a conference of the Powers. France opposed the English project, and the diplomatic negotiations between England and France were seriously embarrassed by incessant interpellations from the Opposition in Parliament and by their abortive votes of censure. In spite of these difficulties, however, Ministers were able in June to announce that they had come to an arrangement with France. She formally abandoned the Dual Control, which had really been destroyed by the Khedive's decree in 1882, and bound herself not to send troops to Egypt unless on the invitation of England. England, on the other hand, agreed to evacuate Egypt on the 1st of January, 1888, unless the Powers considered that order could not be kept after the British troops were recalled. The question of the debt was virtually left to the Conference, but it was agreed that from the beginning of 1888 Egypt was to be neutralised and the Suez Canal put under international management. Even these arrangements were, however, to depend on the decisions of the Conference, which, Mr. Gladstone said, would in turn need Parliamentary sanction before they could be considered binding on the British Government. The Conference broke up owing to the impossibility of reconciling English and French interests, and Mr. Gladstone on the 2nd of August told the House of Commons that England had regained entire freedom of action. With this freedom the Government acquired fresh energy. They sent Lord Northbrook to

Egypt to report upon its condition, and obtained from Parliament a Vote of Credit of £300,000 with which to send succour to Gordon if he required it. At this time, though Khartoum was isolated and surrounded by the Mahdi's troops, Lord Hartington refused to admit that Egypt was in danger from an Arab invasion, or to give any definite promise to send Gordon aid."

As the months passed, and the failure of the Gordon Mission was apparent, the question of the relief of Gordon became urgent. He might have escaped but he would not. He remained at his post and awaited the inevitable dervish attack. Communication with Egypt was closed. The question for the Government was whether there was yet time to rescue him. At length, after perplexing delays which attested the uncertainty of mind among Ministers, a decision was taken to send a relief expedition up the Nile. In the autumn Session of 1884 a money-vote was obtained for this purpose. Lord Wolseley had been sent out to Cairo in September, and he had been secretly organising railway facilities and river transport beyond Wady Halfa. Meanwhile the public mind was distracted by rumours and bad tidings which created an impression that any relief expedition would be too late. There were stories of futile sorties from Khartoum, now the objective of hosts of dervishes, and reports came in the autumn, which proved to be true, showing that Gordon had sent Colonel Stewart, his companion in the mission, with Mr. Power, the British Consul, from Khartoum to Berber in a steamer which had been wrecked in the river, Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power being slain by the tribesmen. Their papers fell into the hands of the

Mahdi. The exasperating delay in sending relief was in part due to the difference of opinion between Gordon and the Cabinet as to the means for accomplishing

of the Prophet—he would be able to win over the ruling families of the Soudan and get a safe conduct for the garrison. Gordon's request was declined, though



LORD WOLSELEY.

Photo: Fradelle & Young.

his task of bringing away the beleaguered garrisons, owing to Gordon's wish, already referred to, to employ Zebehr Pasha as ruler of the Soudan. His idea was that with Zebehr's aid—Zebehr was a descendant of the Abbasides, the family

our Commissioner at Cairo, Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), Lord Wolseley and Nubar Pasha (the Vizier) had backed up the suggestion. Zebehr regarded the refusal to employ him as an insult, and opened up negotiations with

*Photo: Chancellor & Son.*

SIR HERBERT STEWART.

the Mahdi—an act which was followed, on detection, by his arrest and deportation. Denied the aid of Zebehr, Gordon struggled manfully on, ominous warnings coming from him that it was useless for him to remain at Khartoum and that he ought to be ordered to withdraw at once, “for it is impossible for me to help the other garrisons, and I shall only be sacrificing the whole of the troops and employés here.” This was in the spring of 1884. No order was sent. Not until the 17th of May did the Cabinet instruct Gordon to “take

measures for his own removal and for that of the Egyptians at Khartoum by whatever route he thought best.” Long before that instruction reached Gordon the Mahdi had closed the route to Khartoum, and the inevitability of an expedition to re-open it was apparent. Lord Wolseley joined Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart at the camp at Korti, some two hundred and fifty miles north of Khartoum, on the 16th of December, 1884, and there heard news from Gordon, dated the 24th of November, that his four armed steamers were waiting at Metamneh, a hundred miles from Khartoum, to effect a junction with the expedition. Gordon added that he could hold out with ease for forty days from the date of his message. Those forty days had expired before the expedition moved out to traverse the two

hundred and fifty miles of desert that lay between it and the beleaguered town. Not until the 30th of December could Sir Herbert Stewart plunge into the desert with his English cavalry, mounted on camels, and seize the wells of Gakdul, and not until the 8th of January, 1885—the British infantry meanwhile arriving in dribblets at Korti by boat—was he able to start his march across the Bayuda desert, and then with a force of only a couple of thousand fighting men. The Mahdi had concentrated his dervishes at

Abu Klea, and there, on the 16th of January, Stewart got into touch.

We must pass swiftly over the fighting and ignore the many strategical questions upon which the issue of whether Khartoum could have been relieved in time really turns. One set of critics argued that the seizure of the Gakdul wells was an error, inasmuch as it advised the Mahdi of our movements and enabled him to bar our way at Abu Klea, thus delaying the expedition until it was too late to reach Khartoum. To the non-military student of the evidence, the plain fact emerges that whatever strategy had been followed the expedition was organised and started too late; even if it had not been so late, the difficulties of desert warfare, the enormous numerical strength of the Mahdi, the fierce valour of the dervishes, the ability of the Mahdi to fall back and concentrate his myriads of tribesmen upon Khartoum, made the enterprise perilous in the extreme and success a matter of chance. Be that as

it may, Stewart was checked at Abu Klea. He was entrapped and forced to give battle. An unexpected dervish charge from a ravine broke the rear face and angle of the British square. The corner gun jammed, and also some of the rifles; bayonets broke and bent; there were minutes of terrible confusion, in which Colonel Fred Burnaby flung himself upon



BURNABY'S LAST STAND.

the enemy within the square, as did many another gallant soldier, and lost his life ; the annihilation of the square seemed probable and might have occurred but for the desperate fighting of the Camel Corps, who checked the onrush of the dervish host, which numbered some ten thousand, a mere advance guard of the great army at Metamneh. The upshot of the day's work was that the attack was rolled back and Stewart was in possession of the wells at Abu Klea. Stewart boldly pushed on. During the night of the 18th of January he made a forced march towards the Nile, which he hoped to strike near Metamneh. Says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria" :—

"His column got into terrible disorder in the dark, for men and cattle were utterly exhausted from hunger and want of sleep. At 7 a.m. it came within sight of Metamneh—men and horses and camels being scarcely able to walk. It was resolved to rest for breakfast before attacking the town, but the Arabs closed round Stewart's zareba, and poured in a dropping fire, which did serious execution. At 10.15 a.m. Stewart himself was shot, and the command was assumed by Sir Charles Wilson, Chief of the Intelligence Department, who happened to be the senior colonel on the field. Sir Charles Wilson, though an officer in the Royal Engineers, was really a scholar and diplomatist who had spent most of his life in civil employment. Still, he did not shrink from the task which an unforeseen accident imposed on him. He undertook the strategic direction of the column, but prudently handed over the tactical control to Colonel Boscawen of the Guards. Having fortified the zareba, Sir Charles

quickly formed his main body into a square, and determined to make a dash for the Nile. Had he not ventured on this perilous step, the whole column must have perished from thirst. Every inch of the way had to be contested, but happily Wilson's frigid temperament seemed to have in some degree communicated itself to his men. Hence, the same troops who at Abu Klea got out of hand and fired wildly, were soon calm and steady. They had not proceeded far when swarms of Arabs charged down upon the square from a ridge at a place known as Abu Kru. At first Wilson's troops began to fire at random, as at Abu Klea, and few shots told. Then he ordered the bugles to sound 'Cease firing,' and the officers coolly kept the men at rest for five minutes, which steadied their nerves. By this time the enemy had come within three hundred yards of the square, from which volley after volley was now suddenly poured forth, and with such deliberation that the Arab spearmen turned and fled, not one of them getting within fifty yards of Wilson's position. This is the only instance where British troops in the Soudan won a complete victory without being themselves touched by sword or spear. The square now hastened on to the river, and camped for the night. Next day (20th) they carried water to their wounded comrades in the zareba. They then conveyed them down to the camp by the Nile, where they found some of Gordon's steamers waiting for them. Wilson's force was now in a sorry plight, and before he took command discontent was smouldering in its ranks. It had been kept toiling and fighting for four days with little food and less sleep. It had lost



KEEPING THE SQUARE AT ABU KLEA.

in killed and wounded one-tenth of its number. And now with its General disabled it found itself encumbered by a heavy train of wounded, without means of communication with its base, menaced by a formidable fortress, and assured that two great armies were closing on it from Berber and Khartoum. Little wonder that the soldiers murmured sulkily that they had been led into a trap. Wilson's orders were, that on arriving at the river he must proceed to Khartoum with a small detachment, the mere exhibition of whose red coats Lord Wolseley imagined would cause the Mahdi to raise the siege. But Wilson was not to let his men even sleep in Khartoum, and he was only to stay there long enough to confer with Gordon! In plain English, Lord Wolseley ordered him to march twenty or thirty men into Khartoum and come away again, after telling Gordon,

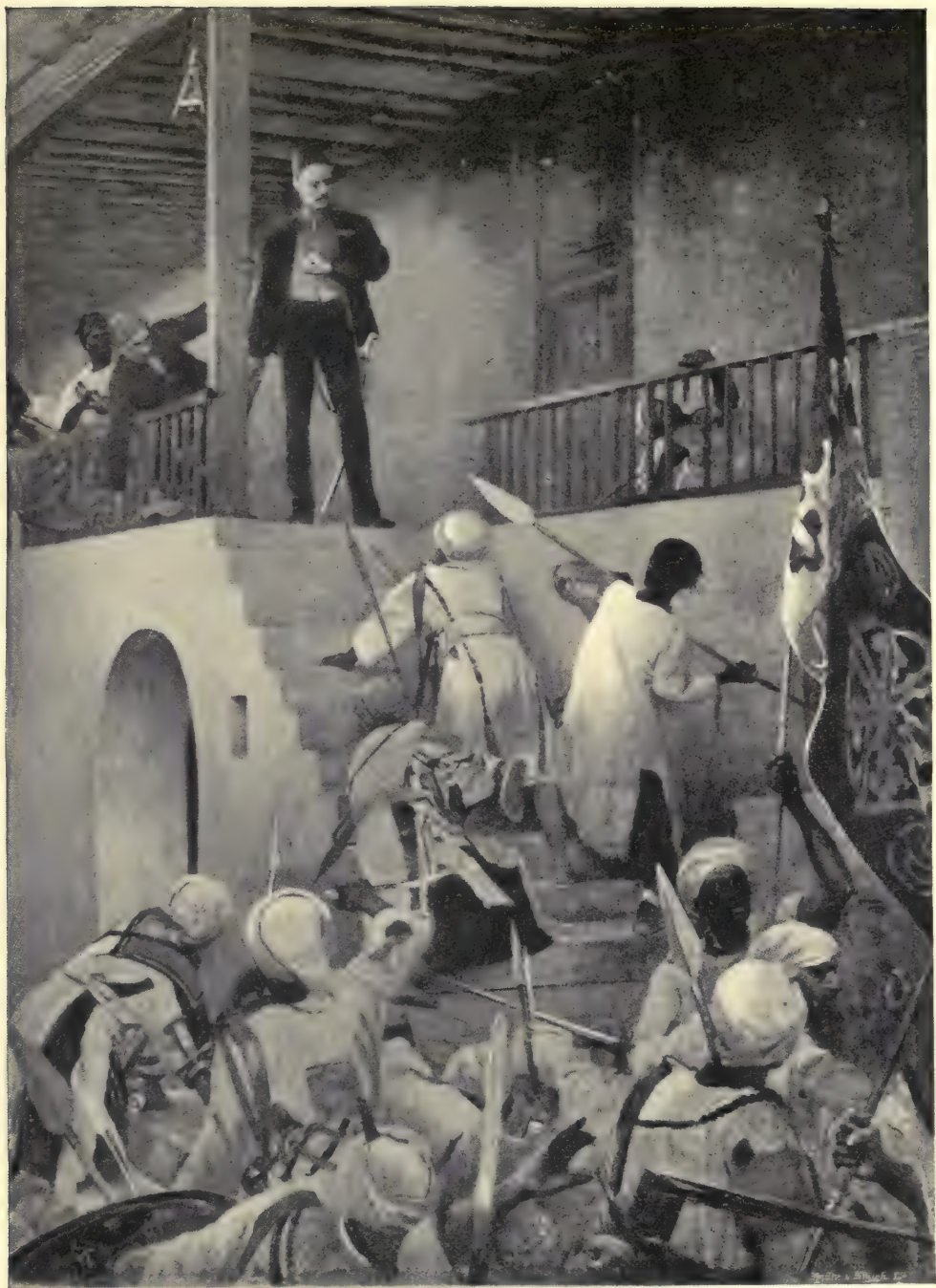
who was every day awaiting his doom, that he must expect no effective succour till far on in March. Wilson, however, resolved, like a loyal commander, not to desert his comrades until he had seen them safely entrenched—and till he had, by reconnoitring, allayed their dread of an attack from Berber. The Naval Brigade was so disabled that he was forced to use Gordon's crews for the steamers, and, in obedience to Gordon's instructions, he had to weed out of these crews all untrustworthy Egyptians. He had also to reconnoitre the fortress of Metamneh.

"This work kept Wilson busy till the 24th of January, when he proceeded up



THE BLUE NILE AT KHARTOUM.

Photo: R. Buchta.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.
(From the Painting by George W. Joy.)

the Nile, arriving on the 28th of January within a mile and a half of Khartoum. He found that the city had fallen on the 26th, when, by treachery, the Buri gate had been opened to the Mahdi's troops, who had rushed in and made the streets of the doomed town run with blood. Gordon, it is believed, was killed, on refusing to surrender, by a small party of Baggarahs, who met him coming out of his palace"—he awaited them on the top of the steps, and there was slain. Thus ended Gordon's noble and chivalrous enterprise.

The British forces were recalled to Korti; the Soudan was abandoned; the British Government was disgraced, the nation humiliated, by a horde of savages. Who that lived during those early months of 1885 will ever forget the rage and shame and grief which the news of Gordon's death caused amongst us? He had made a useless sacrifice; but he became, and will ever remain, a national hero: one of the brightest stars in the Victorian constellation of men of valour and genius. His fine qualities of mind and character—his high and steadfast courage, his goodness of heart, his gentle chivalry, his abnegation of self, his superb trust in God, his carelessness about his own earthly fate—had been known only to his intimates, who loved and revered him, though some thought him eccentric. They became known to the nation at large through his "Journal," and by universal consent he was enthroned among men. Time has mitigated the bitterness of the controversies which arose about him and the incidents which brought him to death. It has been made clear that had he acted on the realities of the situation when the

services of Zebehr Pasha were denied to him he could have saved himself and given events in the Soudan a quite different course, though that would undoubtedly have meant the sacrifice of the Egyptians and Europeans left behind. They were sacrificed in any case. He preferred to perish with them, if perish they must. But it is futile to discuss what might have been had things been done other than those that were done. The facts must stand in their tragic plainness. That Gordon remained where he had volunteered to go after he knew that, by remaining, he was sealing his own fate and could not avert the final catastrophe to those whom he had essayed to rescue does but enhance the intrinsic nobility and greatness of his character.

This section of the story of Egypt was opened by linking with it the personal and political interest of the Royal Family through the subject of this biography; in like manner it may fittingly be brought to a close. Gordon was a bachelor. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, on the 17th of February, 1885, from Osborne, wrote thus to his sister:—

"DEAR MISS GORDON,—*How* shall I write to you, or how shall I attempt to express *what I feel!* To *think* of your dear, noble, heroic Brother, who served his country and his Queen so truly, so heroically, with a self-sacrifice so edifying to the world, not having been rescued. That the promises of support were not fulfilled—which I so frequently and constantly pressed on those who asked him to go—is to me *grief inexpressible!*—indeed, it has made me ill. My heart bleeds for you, his Sister, who have gone through

so many anxieties on his account, and who loved the dear Brother as he deserved to be. You are all so good and trustful, and have such strong faith, that you will be sustained even now, when *real* absolute evidence of your dear Brother's death does not exist—but I fear there cannot be much doubt of it. Some day I hope to see you again to tell you all I cannot express. My daughter Beatrice, who has felt quite as I do, wishes me to express her deepest sympathy with you. I hear so many expressions of sorrow and sympathy from *abroad*; from my eldest daughter, the Crown Princess, and from my Cousin, the King of the Belgians, the very warmest. Would you express to your other Sisters and your elder Brother my true sympathy, and what I do so keenly feel—the *stain* left upon England for your dear Brother's cruel, though heroic, fate!—Ever, dear Miss Gordon, yours sincerely and sympathisingly,

"V.R.I."

"The *stain* left upon England!" The

Queen expressed what everyone felt—what everyone will feel when the record is told and retold in succeeding generations. We are not entitled to speculate on what Edward VII. said in private;



By E. Onslow Ford, R.A.
THE GORDON MEMORIAL AT CHATHAM.

but it is safe to infer from his restraint in public that he thought as hotly and bitterly as other Englishmen. He took the leadership of the movement for a memorial to Gordon and proposed the operative resolution at the meeting at the Mansion House, London, on the 30th

of May, 1885. An executive Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Napier of Magdala, and on the 12th of January following, His Royal Highness summoned a meeting at Marlborough House in support of a fund for providing a Home for destitute lads. Gordon had



THE FIGHT AT STEWART'S ZAREBA.





THE FLORENTINE CASKET AT WINDSOR CASTLE, CONTAINING
GENERAL GORDON'S BIBLE.

been wont, when stationed at Woolwich, to hold a Bible class for boys of the neighbourhood, and in various other ways he had interested himself in the fortunes of friendless youth. The Committee considered various proposals and decided on the establishment of a Gordon Boys' Home, which was first started at Fareham, and is now permanently situated at West End, Chobham. The speeches made by the Prince on this subject were necessarily formal. It was essential in the then angry and excited state of public opinion that he should say nothing which might be construed or twisted into an

attack, direct or indirect, upon the Ministry responsible for Gordon's fate. One would not gather from the brief speeches themselves that the Prince took any unusual interest in what he was doing ; but that is a tribute to his detachment of mind from themes of party strife—a detachment the outward observance of which was enforced upon him by the fact of his position as Heir to the Throne. The Duke of Cambridge, however, rightly made it plain that the Prince was discharging no mere formal duty in a perfunctory way. The success of the movement he attributed to the Prince of Wales,



who, the Duke said, had never taken up a subject more feelingly and thoroughly than he had taken up this Gordon Memorial. In his reply the Prince said, that though Gordon's name was not forgotten, time might cause his memory to be less borne in mind in the stress of public events.

That was all too true. Nations are like persons in their disposition to banish

unhappy and shameful themes. The public were sick at heart over the Soudan, and turned with alacrity to other matters of distracting thought—among them the Penjeh dispute, with its possibilities of war with Russia. They were content for the time being to know that the retirement to the Egyptian frontier at Wady Halfa would better enable us to cope with military difficulties elsewhere.



WOOLWICH COMMON.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RECONQUEST OF THE SOUDAN: OTHER EVENTS IN AFRICA

The Khalifa Takes up the Sword—Kitchener Assumes Command—Crushing the Khalifa—The Battle of Omdurman—Hector Macdonald's Brigade—The Fashoda Incident—A Strained Situation Diplomatically Adjusted—The Soudan Convention—The Abyssinian War of 1868—Theodore Seizes the Throne—A Diplomatic Discourtesy—Englishmen Flogged and Imprisoned—The British Mission Captured—Napier's March—Theodore Shoots Himself on the Battlefield—Trouble in Ashanti—The Expedition to Kumasi—The Battle at Amoafu.

OUR narrative must be hastened, to the exclusion of details regarding the warfare in the Eastern Soudan. Suffice it to say that the Mahdi became involved in war with Abyssinia, and on his death transferred his sovereignty to the Khalifa Abdullah.

The Khalifa ruled his dominions with a despotic hand, and maintained his power by combining craft with oppression. In March, 1889, he enhanced his prestige among the tribesmen by a successful war with King John of Abyssinia, who was slain at Galabat and whose head thereafter adorned the gates at Omdurman. He essayed an invasion of Egypt, but was badly beaten at Toski by an Egyptian army under Sir Francis, now Lord Grenfell. The fellaheen had been hammered into shape by the Anglo-Egyptian officers and converted into good fighting material. The Khalifa withdrew his army to Omdurman. A terrible famine swept through the region and added to his anxieties. His people died by the hundred thousand, and cannibalism was common. The Khalifa's power declined as the distresses of the country increased, and as news of his relative weakness reached Upper Egypt the desire grew to reconquer the lost provinces. Sir Herbert Kitchener became Sirdar of the Egyptian

army in 1892, and for six years he laboured at the problem of fitting the Egyptian army for the task of reconquest. The escape of Father Ohrwalder, and afterwards of Slatin Bey, from Omdurman and the publication of their remarkable books revived public attention in the Soudan and produced a state of opinion favourable to Lord Salisbury's plans for its recovery. Italy had suffered military disaster at Erythea at the hands of the Abyssinians and Shoans under circumstances that form no essential part of this narrative. It became politic for Great Britain to make a demonstration in support of her ally and for the restoration of European prestige on the Red Sea. The Province of Dongola was therefore seized by the Egyptian army, and Indian regiments sent to garrison Suakin. The dervish forces were driven out of Dongola with comparative ease, though at a heavy cost in life from an epidemic of cholera. The Khalifa awoke to the intentions of the Sirdar when Dongola province was lost to him and swore that the bones of the English and Egyptian dogs should whiten in the desert. Gathering all his tribesmen together at Omdurman in May, 1897, he sent an army north to repossess Dongola. The Sirdar, meanwhile, had been to England, and had returned with instruc-

tions to advance upon Khartoum. This decision had been arrived at by the English Government with knowledge that France was endeavouring to establish herself on the upper waters of the Nile by means of an expedition sent via the Ubangi region,



Photo: G. Lekegian & Co., Cairo.

LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM.

under the command of a Major Marchand ; and France had been informed that this would be regarded as an "unfriendly act." Lord Salisbury's Government on their part sent forward an expedition under Colonel Macdonald from Uganda, to effect a junction with the Sirdar's army from the north ; but this miscarried owing to a revolt of the troops recruited from the Soudanese of the Egyptian

garrisons of the Equatorial region, who had been led south into the lake region after Stanley had "rescued" Emin Pasha. The orders to the Sirdar, therefore, covered the two-fold purpose of overthrowing the Khalifa and preventing France from asserting sovereignty over any portion of the Upper Nile Valley, and, therefore, of regaining any share of control over the destinies of Egypt. The Khalifa massed an army at Metamneh. The Sirdar pushed a railway across the desert and sent a flotilla of gunboats up the Nile. Berber fell an easy prey to his forces. English troops were concentrated at this point. There were dissensions in the Khalifa's camp, and no attack was made. The dervish inactivity permitted the Sirdar to complete his preparations for the further advance in safety. A dervish army concentrated in an entrenched position at the Atbara river in March, 1898, and was attacked and driven out with great slaughter on the 7th of April. Then came another long wait. An army of between 50,000 and 60,000 dervishes lay between the Sirdar and Khartoum, and a further British Brigade was brought from Cairo. By the end of August the Sirdar had over 8,000 British and 17,000 Egyptian soldiers of all arms with forty-four guns and twenty maxims, and thirty-six guns and twenty maxims with the flotilla on the Nile. It was at this time the final advance towards Khartoum was made. On the 1st of September the troops could see stretched out before them the broken plain, the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, and against the horizon, rising above the

squat dwellings of Omdurman, the outline of the dome of the Mahdi's tomb. As the army took up its position it saw also that the plain in front of the city was covered with masses of dervish soldiery—riflemen, spearmen, and cavalry—preparing for battle. Night fell with the two armies in contact, the flotilla shelling the batteries of Omdurman and the Arab friendlies engaged in furious attack on the fortified hamlets on the east bank. Neither side slept much that night, the dervish host least of all, for their lines were swept incessantly by the search-lights. A distance of five miles only separated the two armies. That of the Khalifa was twice, if not thrice, as numerous. A night attack was possible. The majority of the white troops were seeing battle for the first time. The Egyptian soldiery were constitutionally liable to panic. Had the Khalifa staked his all on a night attack he might have succeeded in breaking the formation, and, after a running massacre, dispersing the enemy in the desert. But he remained inactive through the night. At a quarter to six, as soon as the brief twilight preceding the sunrise made movement possible, the two armies—the British troops and the Egyptian soldiery—were awaiting the impact, for it was seen that the dervish centre—a mass of some twenty thousand footmen, preceded by two guns—were moving to make a frontal attack on the Egyptian infantry. The dervish guns were fired. Waiting until the mass got well within range, the British and Egyptian batteries only then opened fire. Notwithstanding the frightful slaughter of this continuous gunnery, the footmen advanced with magnificent courage and engaged the Soudanese and

Egyptians in a deadly but hopeless rifle combat. Meanwhile, another portion of the Khalifa's army, 15,000 strong, had moved round the hills and turned the flank of Broadwood's cavalry, which had to retire. In this movement the Camel Corps narrowly escaped being cut off, and was saved only by the



Photo: G. Lekegian & Co., Cairo.

SIR FRANCIS REGINALD WINGATE.

timely arrival of a gunboat, which shelled the charging dervishes at short range from the river bank and did murderous execution. Imminent disaster to the cavalry, or at least heavy losses in a hand-to-hand conflict with the many thousands of rushing spearmen, was thus averted only by the aid of the death-dealing machinery of civilisation. While these operations were in progress the Khalifa was flinging fresh masses of men into the frontal attack upon the infantry.

Though the dervishes rushed to death with unflinching bravery, and from every fold in the plain kept up a ceaseless fire, refusing to retire when it became impossible to advance further, the onslaught failed. Courage and daring and sublime

battle had not to be fought out to a finish, with tremendous loss, in the narrow streets of the city. The problem was to get there in force before the masses of dervishes away in the hills could return. The 21st Lancers were sent thither to

reconnoitre. They reported that the ridge was unoccupied and that the plain beyond was dotted with flying dervishes. They were ordered to advance and use every effort to prevent the enemy re-entering Omdurman. The patrol found that in a practicable khor there was a body of a thousand dervishes in battle formation. Colonel Martin, who commanded the 21st Lancers, ordered a charge. But while the patrol was returning the body had been increased by two thousand men concealed by a spur of the hill. The Lancers were met by a fire which emptied many saddles. They galloped at the mass and rode into and across the khor, fighting furiously. The dervish line was broken by the charge, and the Lancers reformed and faced about two hundred yards on the other side. But the



THE NILE FLOTILLA.

disregard for death were unavailing against the quick-firing guns and the maxims. As the attack fell away the artillery searched the depressions in the ground and drove out masses of riflemen and spearmen, only to be shot down as they fled in droves. At this stage the Sirdar saw that he must get into Omdurman ahead of the still very considerable remnant of the Khalifa's army if the

impact had cost them five officers and sixty-five men, and instead of a second charge they wheeled about to the dervish flank, dismounted, and used their carbines. The dervishes reformed and advanced to the attack, but the fire was too fierce and they retreated and rejoined a larger body under the Black Flag of the Khalifa on the uncleared side of the hill. Here and

beyond in the open plain, there were still some thirty-five thousand fighting men to be reckoned with. The Sirdar moved the whole army southward towards the city, and in the redistribution a wide gap was left between Colonel Hector Macdonald's Brigade of Egyptians and Soudanese as he was moving to take his place in the echelon. His advance brought him into view of the dervish masses on the west side of the ridge. He halted and deployed. Meanwhile the Khalifa flung his reserve, 15,000 strong, against the brigade. Again there was a period of intense crisis, again the possibility that the battle might be lost. With instantaneous realisation of the new turn of events, the Sirdar changed the formation of the other brigades and used infantry, cavalry, and artillery to prevent the dervishes from cutting off Macdonald's regiments. During this crisis an Egyptian regiment nearest the gap between the main body and Macdonald's flinched and wavered, but was restrained from breaking by the consciousness that if they broke they would do so on the punishing bayonets of their own countrymen. Under the fire of Macdonald's infantry and a counter-attack on their flank, the dervishes were stayed and then swept by the now advancing brigades into the desert away from Omdurman. But there was yet another danger to be overcome. Swarms of dervishes emerged from the hills and assailed Macdonald's

brigade on the right. Had this attack been simultaneous with that from the ridge, Macdonald's brigade would hardly have escaped destruction. He reformed his force to meet this onslaught, but his Soudanese regiments were so excited, and



THE BRITISH TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH THE DESERT.

fired so wildly, that the ammunition almost gave out when the dervishes were within charging distance. But the arrival of the Lincolnshire regiment at a position that enabled them to fire obliquely into the advancing mass checked the forward movement. A body of four hundred dervish horsemen, however, flung themselves against the Soudanese in a mad ride to death. This emphasised the failure



THE BATTLE OPENS AT OMDURMAN.

of the attack; the dervishes fled; the brigades were reformed, and the army resumed its march on the capital, the cavalry meanwhile shepherding the fugitives away from the town, and thousands of prisoners being swept up as the intervening distance was traversed. But twenty thousand men made a sullen retreat, and eventually got across the Nile. By midday the victorious army had penetrated the suburbs of Omdurman, and after slight resistance entered through the city wall. Finding that his forces had not entered, or could not enter the city, the Khalifa rested, ate a meal, spent some time in prayer in the now ruined tomb of the Mahdi, and rode away on a

donkey to a camel escort awaiting him in the south. Eluding the Sirdar's cavalry, which had been sent to encircle the city, he got away with some surviving Emirs to El Obeid. In November of the following year he and his valiant following stood at bay in the scrub in the province of Kordofan, and faced the belching maxims of a force led by Sir Francis Wingate until death claimed the last of the group. The Khalifa's end was heroic. Tyrant though he was, he was a brave leader of men. His losses at Omdurman were nearly ten thousand killed, and from ten to sixteen thousand wounded who escaped despatch. In the battle of Omdurman, including the Lancers' sortie,

two British officers and twenty-five men lost their lives, and eleven officers and a hundred and thirty-six men were wounded—a casualty list totalling a hundred and seventy-four. To the total must be added the Hon. H. Howard, the correspondent of *The Times*. The losses of the Egyptian army were two officers killed and eight wounded, eighteen men killed and two hundred and seventy-three wounded. These insignificant losses, having regard to the numbers and daring of the enemy, are an enlightening commentary upon the real nature of the fighting. Against war by machinery and modern rifles the bravery of the desert tribesmen served no other purpose

than to further the depopulation of the Soudan.

Sir Herbert Kitchener steamed on to Fashoda, and found there Major Marchand with seven other white officers and a body of eighty Senegalese. Marchand refused to haul down his flag without orders from home. The Sirdar tactfully refrained from forcing the situation, and left the affair to be settled, if possible, by the diplomatists. Lord Salisbury instructed our Ambassador at Paris to demand Marchand's withdrawal. There was a period of hesitation, and an imminent peril of war with France. The French Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, however, gave way, and Major Marchand withdrew. The recon-



MONTMORENCY'S RESCUE OF GRENFELL AT OMDURMAN.

quest of the Soudan gave us the mastery of the Nile from the sources to the Lake. On the 19th of January, 1899, a Convention was signed with Egypt vesting the command of the Soudan in a Governor-General, Sir Francis Reginald Wingate, and excluding foreign political influence from the entire region south of the 22nd parallel. Under this Convention the Soudan has since been governed.

When we come to the record of King Edward's reign much will have to be said on African affairs; and for this it is desirable that the way should now be prepared by a brief statement of events other than Egyptian and Soudanese affairs taking place anterior to the

Accession. A little war in Abyssinia in 1868 is important as having established our prestige in an African State without whose tolerance and goodwill, based on a lively recollection of our military prowess, it might have been impossible for us in later years to gain that mastery over the Valley of the Nile, the story of which has been told in an earlier chapter. The potentate of this ancient kingdom, where the Christianity introduced at the instance of Athanasius in the fourth century had been submerged by heathen incursions from the South during the Middle Ages, had been invited to make a Treaty of Commerce and Amity with Queen Victoria in 1848.

Mr. Walter Plowden, one of the few



HOISTING THE BRITISH AND EGYPTIAN FLAGS AT KHARTOUM.



A VILLAGE ON THE TABLE-LAND OF ABYSSINIA.

Photo: G. Schweinfurth.

Englishmen who had knowledge of the interior, was appointed Consul at Massowah and had charge of British interests. A revolution led to the dethronement of the monarch, Ras Ali, and the rise of Iij Kasa, who seized the throne under the name of Theodore. He seems to have been a man of much ability and considerable military skill. Plowden visited him and made friends with him. But Plowden lost his life during a rising. Under Plowden's influence Theodore had sought relations with European Governments, and Captain Cameron was sent to replace Mr. Plowden. He also went to King Theodore and was well received, returning to the coast with a letter for

the Queen, breathing vengeance against the people by whom Plowden had fallen. His idea was that he would ingratiate himself with his fellow Sovereign by avenging the death of her Consul. He sought also an alliance with England against the Moslems. Lord Russell made the fatal error of not answering the letter for the Queen. Theodore's character seems to have undergone by this time a dangerous deterioration. He was suspicious, of ungovernable temper, and terribly cruel. Regarding himself as grossly insulted because his letter was not answered, he seized an English missionary, Mr. Stern, whom he flogged almost to death for an alleged breach of Abyssinian

etiquette, Consul Cameron, Mr. Rosenthal and others. These he put in irons and lodged in the fortress at Magdala, the capital. The Government sent a Mission with an answer to the letter in the Queen's hand, requiring the release of the captives. Theodore accused Consul Cameron of having relations with his enemies at Kassala, which the adventurous consul had visited, and made complaints against the missionaries; but

he released the prisoners. Fresh difficulties arose, however, of a kind which suggest that Theodore must have lost his reason, and the upshot was that instead of letting the ex-prisoners and the Mission out of the country, he made captives of them all and put them on the top of the rock fortress at Magdala. The Mission had had their first interview with the King in January, 1866; they were sent to Magdala in July, and all attempts to obtain their release failed. These attempts lasted until April, 1867, and even then King Theodore was given three months' notice that unless within that time the captives were given up an Expedition would be sent. Meanwhile there were movements in the country to dethrone Theodore, one led from Shoa by Menelek, whose destiny it was to succeed Theodore. The more the military problem was studied



LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA.

the more difficult did it seem, and in August, 1867, it was decided that a force of 16,000 would be necessary. This was put under the command of Sir Robert Napier. The army was disembarked at Annesley Bay; the fortress of Magdala lay four hundred miles away, over the high table-land. The Expedition comprised four British infantry regiments, the 3rd Dragoon Guards, a company of Sappers, and a Naval Brigade; the rest were Indian

troops. The transport and camp servants were as numerous as the fighting men. Not until January, 1868, could a start be made. The route, until the high plateau was reached, was one of tremendous difficulty, and the plateau itself was scarcely less trying to the troops. Early in April Magdala was within reach. On the 10th a battle was fought and the Abyssinians learned that charges of spear-men were futile against modern guns and rifles. Their losses were heavy, ours insignificant. Theodore sent two of his captives to treat for peace. But Sir Robert Napier had been allowed by the tribesmen to pass unmolested through the country on the tacit understanding that Theodore would be dethroned. He was required to submit and abdicate. He refused, but dismissed his prisoners, who entered the British camp. Again Theodore tried to

negotiate, but finding the British Commander obdurate, he gathered such remnants of his army as remained faithful into Magdala and there awaited the issue. The fortress was stormed, Theodore and his attendants sitting on the rocks watching the practice of the guns which covered the advance of the storming party. The advance was feebly contested. The fortress was entered and the King urged his few remaining followers to save themselves. One stayed by him. Seeing that he would fall into the hands of the British, Theodore put his pistol into his mouth, fired, and fell dead. The Expedition returned with the captives. It had cost the country five millions. Let it be mentioned here that among those who accompanied it as special correspondents was a young man named Henry Morton Stanley, whose next employment was to be on the other side of the African Continent, on the march to Kumasi, or Coomassie, as it was the custom then to spell the name.

This Ashanti Expedition must be mentioned here as the first of a series which,

during the past forty years, have led to the creation of our Empire in West Africa. The King of the Ashantis had been in receipt of a rental from the Dutch settlers for certain ground, on which they had "forts," in the territory of Elmina, which the inland Kingdom of Ashanti had acquired by conquest. The British Government bought Elmina from the Dutch in 1872, thus ending two centuries of Dutch possession. A new arrangement was made with the Ashanti King—Kwofi Kari-Kari—by which the payment to him was doubled, and was to be regarded as a subsidy in consideration of the trade route from the coast to the interior being kept open. King Coffee, as he was popularly called in England, could not keep the bargain. Ambitious for African fame as a warrior, he quarrelled with the English by seizing some missionaries and stirring up the Elmina tribe against us. Assembling his army, some 50,000 strong, at Kumasi, he swore before it that he would carry his Golden Stool—a seat of gold and a gorgeous umbrella were his symbols of sovereignty—to Cape Coast Castle, and



Photo: Capt. Barchard, 2nd West Indian Regt.

THE FORT AT KUMASI.



TROOPS CROSSING THE PRAH.

wash it there in the blood of the English. He marched down to the river Prah. Hasty defensive measures were taken, and in September, 1873, Sir Garnet Wolseley was given chief command of the local forces. He sent home for troops and, the native levies being thus stiffened with infantry and light artillery, moved up country during December and January. The greatest danger was the climate, and it was necessary on that account to get the affair over in the shortest time. There was a sharp—almost desperate—battle at Amoaful on the 31st of January, 1874, fought in dense bush, from which an unseen enemy poured volleys of slugs; but

superiority of weapons told in the long run and the Ashanti Army gave way. A dash was then made for the capital, twenty miles distant. The Ashantis made a feeble stand at Ordasha on the 4th of February and after a six miles march the army entered the capital. This was burnt down, the King sued for peace, and a Treaty was made by which the King undertook to pay a war indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold. The force hurried back to the coast. The Expedition created much interest in England, but the Government were strongly criticised for undertaking so hazardous an enterprise in so pestilential a country. The public had not then become familiar-

ised with African adventure. The scramble for the Hinterland had not begun.

More momentous events than these had happened and were happening during the first thirty years of King Edward's life. David Livingstone had tramped his way across the Continent along the line of the Zambesi and discovered the Victoria Falls and Lake Nyassa. Chapman, the Natal trader and hunter, and Baines had entered Bechuanaland and Matabeleland; Burton and Speke had journeyed from the coast opposite Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika; and in 1862 Captain J. H. Speke and Lieut.-

Colonel Grant had discovered the Victoria Nyanza, skirted the western shore, and found the outlet of the Nile at Ripon Falls in Uganda. They followed the White Nile to Gondokoro, where in February, 1863, they met Sir Samuel Baker, then in the service of the Khedive of Egypt. Sir Samuel had been exploring from the Atbara region of the Soudan into the Kingdom of Unyoro. In the central Soudan James Richardson had, in 1845-50, crossed and re-crossed the Sahara. In the following year, with Barth and Oberweg, he set out, but died on the way, on the journey which was further to reveal to Europe the Fulah Empire in the Western Soudan. The opening up of Africa had begun. From all sides explorers were doing the work which was to lead to the partition of the then unknown Continent, and seat Great Britain in command of the Nile springs and of the entire valley, and give her, in the south, the west, and the east, vast accessions of territory.

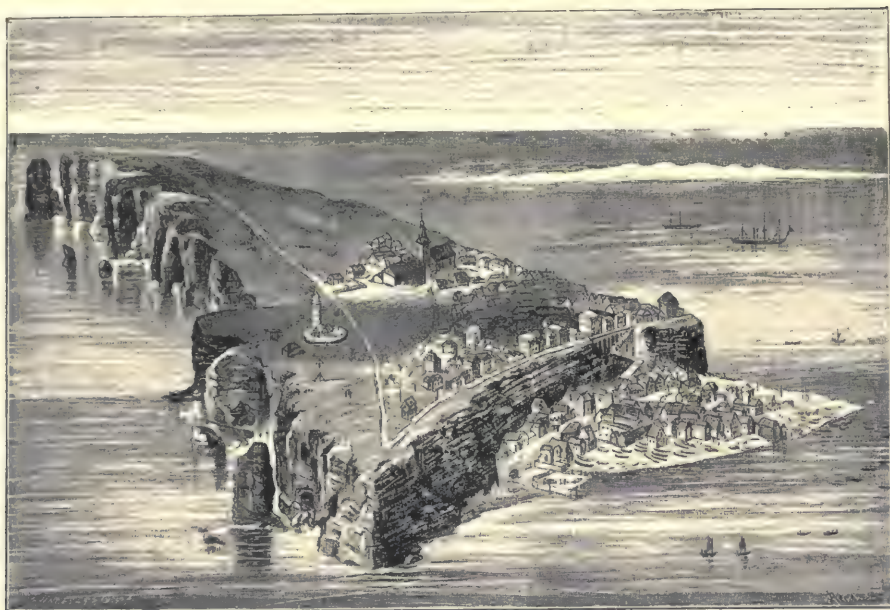
It was in the 'eighties that the scramble for African territory disturbed the Chancelleries of Europe. In 1885 Germany proclaimed a Protectorate, and two years later the Sultan of Zanzibar, then a subsidized dependency of India, ceded his mainland possessions to the British East Africa Association. Germans and British pushed inland to the Lakes, and there was much rivalry and friction, which the diplomatists ended by the Anglo-German Treaty of the 1st of July, 1890. The present writer has thus set forth the subsequent facts in "The Building of Britain and the Empire":—

"Germany made considerable sacri-

fices for the acquisition of Heligoland, but obtained an enormous block of territory opposite Zanzibar and inland as far as Lake Tanganyika. To Great Britain was reserved the vaster sphere north of a line skirting Kilima-Njaro to the confines of Abyssinia, and westward so as to comprise the northern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, the territories of Uganda and Unyoro and onwards, an uninterrupted sweep through the valley of the Nile. The economic value of the region was, however, previously overestimated, and the British East Africa Company found itself overwhelmed with difficulties—Arab revolts in the coast region, constant forays by the fierce Masai of the plateau, rebellions in Uganda, triangular religious wars between 'Catholics,' 'Protestants,' and



WEST AFRICAN TROOPS BEFORE AN
ASHANTI STRONGHOLD.



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF HELIGOLAND.

Mohammedans in the Nyanza littoral. In vain did the civil and military officers of the Company grapple with their enemies. Indian troops had to be sent to the coast, and in the spring of 1896 there was a serious revolt."

Meanwhile, the Government had superseded the Chartered Company, and put the region under the control of the Foreign Office. The dominant fact of its subsequent history was the building of a railway from Mombasa, on the coast, to Fort Florence, on the Victoria Nyanza, at a cost of £5,500,000. It was completed in the year of King Edward's accession. In the north-east a Protectorate had been declared, in 1887, over Somaliland for the better security of our highway to India. On the west, the Congo Free State had been established, by consent of the Powers, under the sovereignty of King Leopold of Belgium—a matter that will

be further handled when the events of King Edward's reign are surveyed. France pushed westwards into the Hinterland from Dahomey and Senegal, and created a Moroccan question for the Powers by pacific penetration into that country. British subjects meanwhile ascended the Niger, made Treaties with the Fulah Emirs of the Western Soudan, and carved out a new India in Africa. Queen Victoria granted a Charter to these courageous adventurers in 1886. A year later the British Government proclaimed a Protectorate over the basin of the Niger and its affluents wherever the Company were or might be established. "Thereafter," says the writer already quoted, "began a struggle between the Fulah rulers of the Hausa states and the Company for the mastery of the politics of the region. Meanwhile, however, the French, sweeping past the Hinterland of Ashanti and

Dahomey, had penetrated Nigeria and established posts in regions covered by British treaties, which they claimed to have invalidated by virtue of priority of occupation. Possibly to arrest this process, partly forced by local necessities, the Company hazarded its fortunes in 1897 by an expedition against the Emir of Nupe. It was brilliantly successful, despite the valour of the Fulah cavalry, and Bida was captured after two days'

fighting. Ilorin next fell to the Company's arms, and thus the way was cleared for the assertion of British treaty rights from both banks of the upper waters of the Niger. Imperial control now became a necessity alike from international and administrative reasons, and the French and British spheres in the West African Soudan having been defined by a Convention of June, 1898, the Government relieved the Company of its governing



A VILLAGE IN THE CONGO.

Photo: Rev. A. Billington

responsibilities and established a direct Imperial system." By the time King Edward came to the Throne we had acquired a vast Empire in West and East and Central Africa, together with, as a chapter in "The Story of Egypt" has shown, political control of the entire course of the Nile. From the Cape also British

sovereignty had been enormously extended north and east; but this great theme must later receive adequate treatment in a separate chapter. Our present object is attained if the reader has been assisted to grasp the course of events in Africa, in relation to British interests, during the later decades of Queen Victoria's reign.



THE VICTORIA NYANZA, FROM THE RIPON FALLS.

From a sketch by Bishop Tucker.

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH POLICY IN THE EAST AND FAR EAST

The Situation in 1853—The Bulgarian Atrocities—Russian Diplomatic Achievements—Lord Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's Banquet—Russia Declares War—Turkey's Expectations Disappointed—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Jingoism Becomes Active—The British Fleet in Besikö Bay—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—Russian Designs on Constantinople—Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office—The Anglo-Turkish Convention—Another Rising in Afghanistan—Roberts at Kabul and Kandahar—Bulgarian Matters—Prince Alexander Kidnapped—Lord Rosebery's Administration—The Armenian Massacres in Constantinople—The Greco-Turkish War—Revolution in Crete—Asia Minor in Tumult—Japan in Evolution—The Expedition in China.

WITH such wise restraint and reticence did Edward VII. bear himself, as Prince of Wales, in all affairs of State that there is scarcely a glimmer of light upon the thoughts and emotions which must have been excited in his mind by the long tension between Great Britain and Russia. The reader will recall that Albert Edward's first contact with the Eastern Question was as a lad at the time of the war in the Crimea. He saw the Army leave these shores; he stood by the side of his parents when the invalided soldiers dragged their broken and wasted frames past the Sovereign on the Horse Guards Parade; he shared as a boy in the national exultation at the few victories, the national depression during the long intervals of waiting, the national anger and shame at the terrible mismanagement of the campaign. He has twice been presented in these pages in early manhood in Constantinople as the guest of the Sultan, first on his return from his tour through the Syrian dominions of Turkey, and next in the company of the Princess of Wales, whose sister Marie was to be Empress of Russia; and he has been seen with her visiting the battle scenes

of the Crimea. It will be remembered also that his brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, married at St. Petersburg the only daughter of the Czar Alexander, and that he acted as best man on that splendid occasion. His family ties with the Romanoff dynasty were close; he knew the Eastern Question from a threefold point of view—the English, the Turkish, the Russian—and must have taken a strong personal interest in it. His visit to India also, apart from the specially directed historical studies by which he obtained a comprehension of the inter-relationship of Eastern and Western politics, must have deepened his concern in the expansion of Russian power in Asia and the apparent imminence of a Russian invasion of India. Yet such was his discretion, so thoroughly disciplined his gift of speech—and of silence—that of his thoughts and activities in relation to this group of problems we have no record, and, therefore, there is nothing to say—will not be anything to say—until the secret political history of the Court for the last thirty years of the life of Queen Victoria is made known. But it need not be inferred from this that he took no part in these affairs, and that

they should be regarded as severed from the facts of his life. He lived through them ; he cannot but have been strongly influenced by them ; indeed we are sure that he must have been, for one of the great acts of his reign, which we shall have later to describe, was an Anglo-Russian reconciliation which, to put it at its lowest, dispelled those apprehensions of a Russian invasion of India which for a generation oppressed the minds of English statesmen and were a determining factor in Indian policy, if not also in the management of our foreign affairs. We suggest, therefore, that the reader may rightly be invited to take a rapid survey of Anglo-Russian controversies on the Eastern Question subsequent to the war in the Crimea, as a necessary and inseparable part of the setting of the life of the late Sovereign.

The policy of the Court, as defined by the Prince Consort in a famous Memorandum to Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet in 1853, seemed to favour the ultimate expulsion of the Turks from Europe, but the prevention, meanwhile, of the imposition of a Russian protectorate over the Balkan provinces. It was dictated by sympathy with the twelve millions of Christians under Mohammedan oppression ; the question of the integrity and future of Turkey was subsidiary. This was the policy of the great Victorian Liberals. Lord Palmerston, however, and afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, imposed upon the country the policy of defending the integrity of Turkey at all costs and, in the graphic colloquialism of the late Lord Salisbury, moved to political repentance by the horrors of Turkish misgovernment in the 'nineties, we "put our money on the wrong horse." Be that as it may, the

defence of the integrity of Turkey was for many years the governing idea of British policy. June, 1876, may conveniently be taken as a starting-point of this narrative. Bulgaria revolted. The Porte stamped out the revolution where it could with ruthless barbarity. The fiendish excesses of the Turkish soldiery roused Mr. Gladstone to noble and wrathful eloquence, and in a pamphlet entitled "Bulgarian Horrors," and by a series of speeches, he demanded the expulsion of Turkish officialdom from Bulgaria, "bag and baggage," and autonomy for the country subject to Turkish suzerainty. Neither Russia nor Austria was to seize Balkan territory, nor were the Christian populations further to be ravaged by their Mohammedan conquerors. The Conservative party was in power, and, in the interests of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, decried the agitation. Europe demanded reforms from Turkey. The demand was answered by further severities. A speech by Disraeli, complaining of the popular agitation in England which Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Press had set up, seems to have led the Sultan to think that he had Lord Derby's Cabinet on his side. This was not so, for, though the Cabinet was divided in opinion, Lord Derby sent Sir H. Elliot to the Sultan to denounce the outrages, to express the horror of the Queen, and to demand in her name the punishment of those responsible for them. The Sultan was obdurate. In the summer of 1876 Servia joined Bulgaria in revolt, and declared war on the Porte. On the following day our Ambassador, Sir H. Elliot, urged the Porte to accept certain proposals made by Lord Derby. These, says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," "if carried out would



have saved Turkey from the supreme disaster which was awaiting her, for they provided that the Porte should effectively guarantee administrative reforms in her Christian Provinces, while Serbia and Montenegro should lay down their arms and return to

the *status quo ante bellum*. The Porte would only accept an armistice which would have been unfair to Serbia and Montenegro, and Serbia would not accept a settlement which did not provide for the withdrawal of the barbarous soldiers of Turkey from Bulgaria. Whilst negotiations were pending, the Turks, on the 29th of October, beat down the Serbian defence at Alexinatz, whereupon, to the

mortification of England, the Czar effected in an instant that which Lord Derby, after many weary weeks of negotiation, had failed to accomplish. Ignatieff was instructed to tell the Porte that, if it did not accept an armistice of six weeks within forty-eight hours, diplomatic relations between Turkey and Russia would cease. When the same threat had been delivered by the British

Ambassador, the Turks ignored it; in fact, they were imprudent enough to meet it with a counter-proposal so absurd, that the Italian Minister said they were obviously playing with England. Although strengthened by a great victory, they did



LORD BEACONSFIELD AT THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET.

not, however, dare to treat the representative of the Czar as if he were the representative of the Queen. They accepted his ultimatum without demur or delay, and thus, owing to the feebleness of English diplomacy, Russia emerged with the honours of the game in which, up to the last moment, Lord Derby held the winning cards. This was, however, a minor matter. Lord Beaconsfield and



Lord Derby had now given Russia not only a plausible pretext for taking the lead in dealing with the Eastern Question, but also an opportunity for intimating to the world that, in circumstances which extorted the sanction of the Continental Powers, she had the right, in case of a deadlock, to deal with it single-handed. In other words, the English Government, by allowing the Porte to trifle with it during September, 1876, flung away at one cast the only practical results won by the Crimean War."

A Conference of the Powers was arranged on the Czar's assurance that he had no designs against Constantinople, and agreed in principle with the Derby proposals. At the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th of November Lord Beaconsfield did not disclose his knowledge of the Czar's attitude, but represented Russia as scheming to possess herself of Bulgaria, a course England would oppose by arms. Thus Lord Beaconsfield stiffened the Sultan's mind against the Conference. Meanwhile the Czar, addressing the Notables of Moscow, informed the world that he was determined if necessary to act alone to right the wrongs of the Christian subjects of Turkey; and to prove the reality of that determination he mobilised an army.

The Conference was held at Constantinople, the late Lord Salisbury being the English plenipotentiary. He endeavoured to get the adhesion of the Powers to the Gladstone principle of an autonomous Bulgaria. The Conference was fruitless because it was foiled by the Sultan. Meanwhile England was fiercely divided in opinion, and the Liberal campaign in Press and on platform against armed aid being given to Turkey was prosecuted with such zeal that it could not be disregarded by the Court and the Cabinet. On the other hand moderate opinion in the nation was opposed to active participation on behalf of Bulgaria and Servia. They were to win their freedom for themselves; Austria and Germany would checkmate Russian aggression on the Balkan peoples; our policy ought to be one of non-intervention. That was the attitude of the majority, who would neither make war with Turkey against her Christian subjects and their Russian "protectors" nor against Turkey on behalf of the Christian population. The upshot was that on the 24th of April, 1877, Russia declared war with Turkey, who had steadfastly refused to concede the demands for reforms made by the Powers in concert. The delusion of the Sultan was that in the last resort



Photo: Abdullah Frères, Constantinople.
THE SULTAN'S PALACE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

England would side with him as she had done in 1853. Says the writer already quoted :—

“ Prince Bismarck rejected a personal appeal which the Queen made to him to hold back Russia ; and so war was declared. The Turks had fully expected that we would help them, and they had been confirmed in their attitude of contumacy by the appointment of Mr. Layard, a notorious supporter of Turkey, to the British Embassy at Constantinople on the day on which the Protocol was signed. If it was the object of Lord

Beaconsfield to prevent the outbreak of war and to save the Ottoman Empire in Europe from ruin, his policy must be described as an utter failure. And it failed for obvious reasons. Lord Beaconsfield and the British diplomatic agents in Turkey talked and wrote in terms which persuaded the Turks that, if they resisted the demands of Europe, England would defend them, as in 1853-4. On the contrary, if Lord Beaconsfield desired the foreign policy of England to succeed and to save Turkey from being crushed by Russia, he should have taken steps to convince her that, even if he had the will, he had not the power to do battle for her.

“ Others besides the Turks shared the opinion that Lord Beaconsfield meant to drag England into a new Crimean War.



GALLIPOLI.

On the 5th of May Mr. Carlyle stated in *The Times*, ‘ not on hearsay, but on accurate knowledge,’ that Lord Beaconsfield was contemplating a feat ‘ that will force, not Russia only, but all Europe to declare war against us.’ The idea of the Government was to occupy Gallipoli to protect British interests. This would have forced Russia to declare war against England, and then English public opinion would, of course, have supported Lord Beaconsfield in fighting on the side of Turkey. But Mr. Carlyle’s sudden revelation of the scheme roused public opinion in favour of non-intervention, and Mr. Gladstone ‘ took occasion by the hand ’ to inflame the populace against Lord Beaconsfield’s supposed designs. Stormy meetings were held all over England during the first week of May, and then Ministers

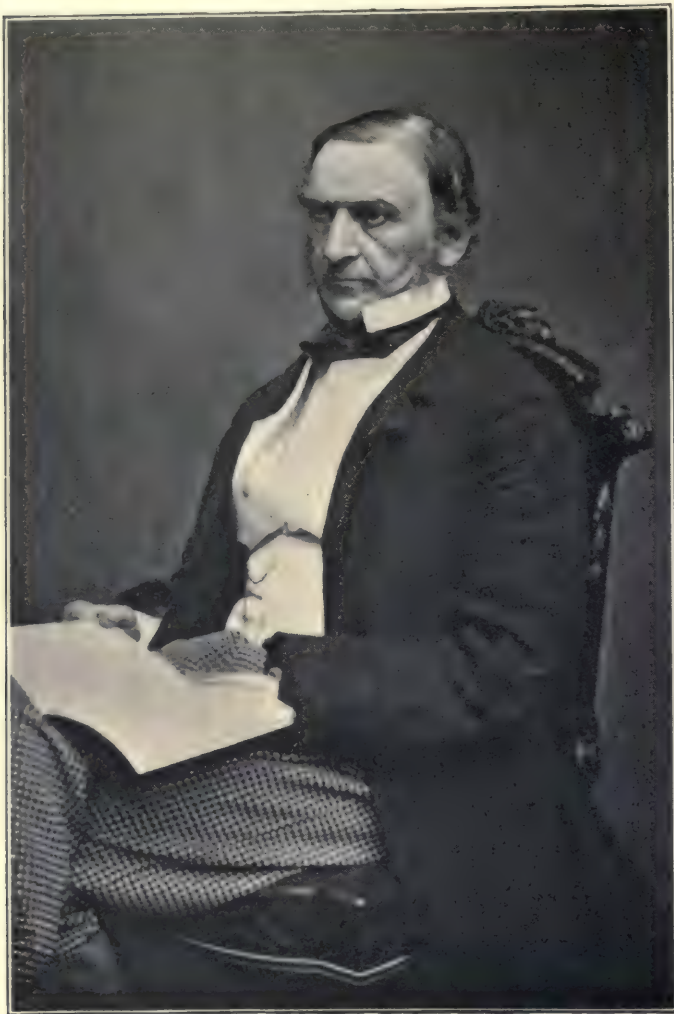


Photo: Samuel A. Walker.

MR. GLADSTONE IN 1865.

seemed to have changed their offensive tone towards Russia. On the 6th of May Lord Derby buoyed out for Russia the torpedoes called 'British interests' which lay in her way. He laid down in a polite dispatch the precise conditions under which England would remain neutral, conditions so plainly reasonable that Prince Gortschakoff accepted them

with the utmost frankness. Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone was seriously misled by the public indignation which had been roused against a conspiracy to fight for Turkey under the pretext of protecting British interests. He imagined it would enable him to carry out his own project of coercing Turkey in company with Russia. He therefore submitted to the House of Commons six Resolutions, which were discussed early in May. Of these, however, he was forced to withdraw two, because a powerful section of the Liberal party considered that they bound England to joint action with Russia. Thus Mr. Gladstone's formidable array of Resolutions dwindled down to the simple and harmless proposition that the Turk was a bad man,

who did not deserve English sympathy or support. The House, however, by a majority of 131, carried a colourless amendment declining to embarrass the Government by any formal vote, and leaving 'the determination of policy entirely in their hands.' The debate on the Resolutions was one of those high and sustained triumphs of Parliamentary

eloquence which at great crises display the British House of Commons at its best. It may be said to have exhausted the controversy on the Eastern Question. Mr. Gladstone's speech (which would of itself have rendered the debate historical) admittedly soared as high as the loftiest flights of Chatham and of Burke."

We shall not relate the events of the war. The story of the Russian advance, the long siege and fall of Plevna and the march on Constantinople have been told in countless volumes. Plevna fell on the 10th of December. The nation was in ignorance of the diplomacy of the Powers, who had practically agreed to

deprive Russia of the fruits of victory. The speeches of Lord Beaconsfield and other Ministerialists gave rise to the impression that British intervention was imminent, especially as Parliament was summoned to meet at an early date. There was a panic on the Money Market; the music-hall audiences showed intense hostility to Russia, and made a popular hero of the singer of some political doggerel:—

We don't want to fight,
But by jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
And we've got the money too.

The point of the song was that "the Russians shall not have Constantinople."



THE JINGOES' MEETING IN THE GUILDHALL.

The war party became known as jingoes, being first thus stigmatised by the late Mr. G. J. Holyoake, to the permanent enrichment of our political jargon. Russophobia spread amazingly, and the general belief was that the sympathies of the Queen were thoroughly pro-Turkish, an opinion fostered by an inopportune

ment was intense, and was worked up by an egregious Ministerial press, which tried to make out that the Russian reply to Lord Derby's dispatch was an affront to England. Says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria"—

"On the 2nd of January, 1878, Lord Carnarvon, addressing a South African



HUGHENDEN MANOR.

Photo: Starling, High Wycombe.

visit Her Majesty paid at this time to Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden Manor, Bucks. Two days before, Lord Derby had sent a dispatch warning the Russians against occupying Constantinople, or menacing the Dardanelles. Russia replied that she had no designs on Constantinople, which would only be occupied if the obstinacy of the Porte forced that course upon her. Meanwhile it had become obvious that Vienna had been "squared" by Russian consent to an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Public excite-

deputation, took occasion to contradict these assertions. The fall of Plevna, he said, had not materially affected the policy of the Cabinet, which was still one of neutrality, and there had been nothing in the Russian communications with the Ministry of an insulting or discourteous character. The war scare now subsided as if by magic, and Funds rose a quarter per cent. But the Ministerial newspapers heaped obloquy on Lord Carnarvon, declaring that he merely spoke for himself; and at a Cabinet Meeting

on the 3rd of January there was quite a 'scene' between him and Lord Beaconsfield. The Prime Minister condemned the speech of his colleague, who, however, put on a bold front, and read a Memorandum before the Cabinet vindicating his position, and re-affirming everything that he had said.

Lord Beaconsfield merely asked him for a copy of this document, and no Minister then or at any subsequent period hinted at a private or public disavowal of Lord Carnarvon's statement. A very conciliatory answer was sent on the 12th of January to Prince Gortschakoff. It did not even suggest that the tem-

porary military occupation of Constantinople would endanger British interests, but it asked Russia not to touch Gallipoli. On the 15th of January Prince Gortschakoff answered that Russia would not occupy Gallipoli unless Turkish troops were massed there; but he said that a British occupation of the Peninsula would be regarded by Russia as a breach of neutrality. On the 17th of January

Parliament met, and, to its surprise, found itself greeted with a Royal Speech couched in the most dove-like terms of peace. The war party were abashed. Even Lord Beaconsfield spoke not of daggers, though he hinted vaguely at the chances of using them. There was

also a clause in the Queen's Speech which, after admitting that none of the conditions of British neutrality had been violated, alluded darkly to the possibility of something occurring which might render 'measures of precaution' necessary. Lord Salisbury, however, went out of his way to state that the Czar, so far from having aggressive de-



OSMAN PASHA.

signs, had shown himself anxious to defer to the wishes of Europe, and was possessed with 'an almost tormenting desire for peace,' so that Members went about asking each other—Why had Parliament been summoned so soon, to the great disturbance of business and the alarm of the nation, merely to be told that everything was going on smoothly? The fact is, that it had been

Lord Beaconsfield's original intention to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles.

"On the 12th of January, 1878, this proposal was discussed in the Cabinet, and it would have been necessary to follow up the step by asking the House of Commons for a War Vote. At a meeting on the 14th, from which Lord Derby was absent, the proposal was adopted. On the 15th Lord Carnarvon sent in his resignation, but Mr. Montagu Corry came to him with a message from Lord Beaconsfield to say that certain telegrams had arrived which had caused the order to the Fleet to be cancelled. These telegrams must obviously have been from Lord Augustus Loftus, conveying Prince Gortschakoff's pledge that Gallipoli would not be touched, and his warning that Russia would regard the British occupation of it as a breach of neutrality. On the 16th Lord Carnarvon was at the Cabinet meeting, but his resignation was not returned to him till the 18th, when Lord Beaconsfield assured him that there was no longer any difference between them. Lord Beaconsfield, indeed, went further in his soothing assurances to the House of Lords on the 17th. Though he had Lord Carnarvon's resignation at that moment in his pocket, he said 'there is not the slightest evidence that there has *ever* been any difference between my opinions and those of my colleagues.' As for the rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet, Lord Salisbury scornfully averred that they were only the inventions of 'our old friends the newspapers.'

"To understand the events that followed, and which again threw the country into a panic, two facts must be kept in view. First, the resolution to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles had been taken on the 14th of January, after the receipt

of a telegram from Mr. Layard warning the Government that the Russians were moving on Gallipoli. This false statement had been neutralised by Lord Augustus Loftus, who sent on the 15th the telegram conveying Gortschakoff's renewed pledges to respect British interests, in time to enable Lord Beaconsfield to cancel the orders to the Fleet. But the second point is, that the public and Parliament were kept in complete ignorance of Gortschakoff's fresh pledges not to approach Gallipoli, and not to occupy Constantinople. If the one pledge was to be trusted, so was the other, and the withdrawal of the orders to the Fleet proved that the Government thought that the one pledge was valid. Yet Lord Beaconsfield's friends strove without ceasing to impress the public with the false notion that Russia meant to seize Constantinople. On the 17th Mr. Layard sent another alarmist telegram. The Russians, he said, were marching on Adrianople. They were next to occupy Constantinople, and the Sultan was making ready to fly to Broussa. On the 22nd a deputation of the Tory war party, representing seventy-five malcontents in the House of Commons, urged a policy of intervention on Sir Stafford Northcote. On the 23rd the Cabinet resolved to send immediate orders to Admiral Hornby to take the Fleet to Constantinople. Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon thereupon resigned. The order to the Fleet was countermanded, and Hornby was instructed to anchor in Besika Bay, whereupon Lord Derby returned to the Cabinet, but without Lord Carnarvon. Lord Derby afterwards admitted that neither he nor his colleagues had altered their opinions about the propriety of sending the order to the Fleet,

so that the Ministry and its Foreign Secretary were now avowedly at variance as to a vital point of principle in Foreign policy. If the Cabinet was trustworthy Lord Derby should not have left it. If it was not trustworthy he was right to leave it, but wrong to go back. As for Lord Beaconsfield, that he should have permitted Lord Derby to return in such circumstances was considered by some to be discreditable to him

as a man of honour. On the 24th of January Sir Stafford Northcote gave notice that on the 28th he would move 'a supplementary estimate for the military and naval services,' and the Ministerial press immediately circulated the most startling accounts of the oppressive con-

ditions which Russia sought to impose on Turkey, then negotiating for an armistice. The Liberal press, on the other hand, accused Sir Stafford Northcote of breaking his promise, passed on the opening day of the Session, that he would not ask for a Vote till he knew what the Russian terms of peace were and saw that they plainly put British interests in peril.

"As for the public, it had not the faintest idea that Ministers had received assurances from Prince Gortschakoff which they had dealt with as satisfactory. The

official excuse for the War Vote now was that Russia, by delaying to communicate the terms of peace which were the basis of the armistice, rendered precautionary measures necessary. On the 25th, Count Schouvaloff communicated these terms to the Foreign Office, and they were found to be simply those which Russia



THE BRITISH EMBASSY, ST. PETERSBURG.

had, with unusual frankness, forewarned England and the Powers at various stages of the war she would exact from Turkey. On the evening of the 25th Lord Beaconsfield alluded to these terms as a possible basis for an armistice. He must have regarded them as eminently moderate, for he said that they had induced him to cancel the order to the Fleet to proceed to Constantinople. But the Ministry still persisted in going on with the War Vote, and on the 28th of January Sir Stafford Northcote denounced the terms of peace

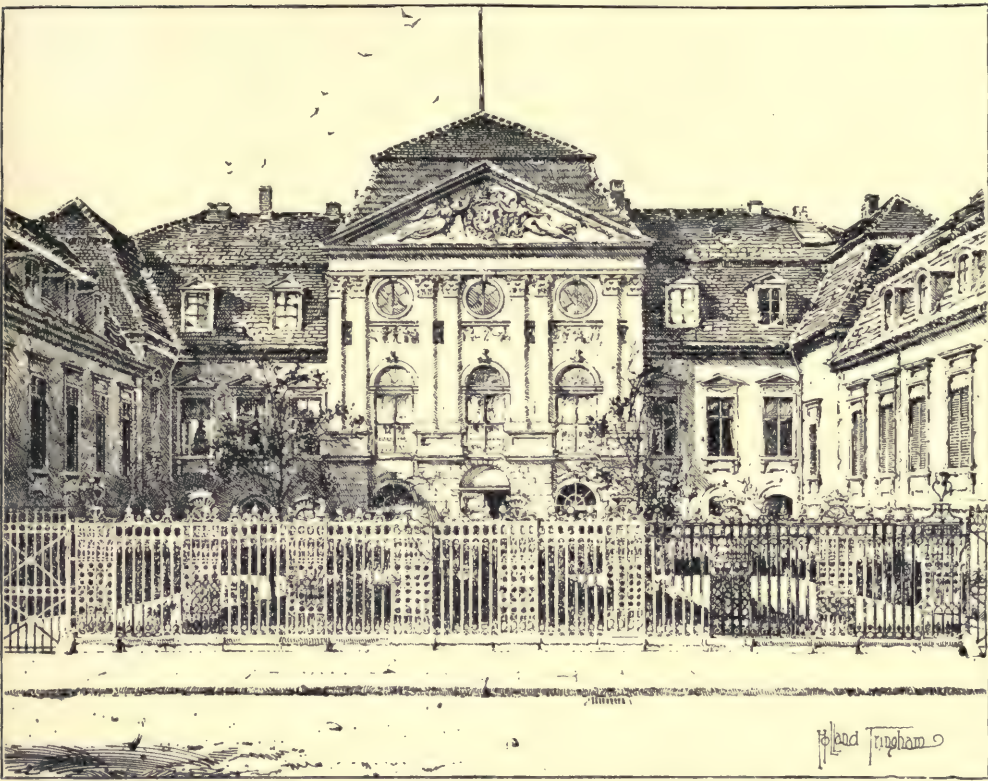
in language which would have induced Turkey to reject them had they, before excepting the conditions, realized their real intent. On the same day Lord Carnarvon, in the House of Lords, explained his reasons for quitting the Cabinet."

The War Vote was passed, and the fleet ordered to Constantinople to protect British residents. The Jingoës were jubilant, for they thought the Government meant business ; but neither Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, nor Lord Beaconsfield intended to push matters to an extremity, for it had been agreed between the two Governments that

Russia would not land troops on the European shore of the Dardanelles, that England would not occupy Gallipoli, and that neither would occupy the Asiatic side. The six millions not being needed for war the Government spent it on the arsenals, and public interest now centred itself on the question of the terms of peace. On the 3rd of March, 1878, a Treaty of Peace was signed at San Stefano. It left British interests intact, but it did not give Austria the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she desired as a counterpoise to Russian influence in Bulgaria. Austria therefore rattled her sabres. Bismarck suggested a Confer-



THE CONFERENCE ROOM IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.



THE RADZIWILL PALACE, BERLIN, WHERE THE CONGRESS MET.

ence for the purpose of bringing the treaty of San Stefano into harmony with the general interests of Europe as these were settled by the modification, in 1871, of the Treaty of Paris. On this there was a confusing disputation among the diplomatists as to the basis of the Conference, though Russia admitted the right of the Powers to revise the Treaty. The Derby Ministry did not think this recognition sufficient, though on this England stood alone among the Powers. Anti-Russian feeling again ran high in the country, and the tension was great. On the 26th of March the Cabinet decided to call out the Reserves, bring troops from India,

seize Cyprus, and land an army in Syria ; but Lord Derby regarded these measures as making war with Russia certain, and he resigned. There was a panic in the City ; public opinion was violently disturbed, and Lord Beaconsfield altered his tactics to the extent of abandoning the seizure of Cyprus, and the landing in Syria. Lord Derby was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury. Meanwhile the Indian troops were brought to Malta—an act which Russia resented by starting that aggressive diplomacy and military activity on the frontier of the border states, which was to keep India in a ferment of apprehension as to her designs. The

Reserves were called out, and the war fever revived. But Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff, to whom the Russian interests were now committed, came to a secret agreement. The Conference was to be held, and matters publicly fought out which had already been privately settled. The agreement, to the astonishment of the world, was published by the *Globe*. Lord Salisbury denied that it was "authentic." The Government kept up the pretence that they were hostile to the San Stefano Treaty, though every word of the Schouvaloff-Salisbury compact published by the *Globe* was true, the document having found its way into the office of that newspaper by the faithlessness of an official. The secret Agreement having been arrived at Germany invited the other Powers to a Conference at Berlin. The invitations were dated the 3rd of June, 1878, and the Conference met on the 13th. The *Globe* disclosures were made on the 15th of that month, and therefore reduced the Conference to an absurdity. Meanwhile, on the 4th of June, a Convention had been signed with Turkey, which became known on the 8th of July, by which Cyprus was ceded to England. The Ministry "worked" the Press, and the Press imposed upon the public ridiculous stories of the wealth of the island. The nation was cheated into the belief that Lord Beaconsfield had done a marvellous thing in diplomacy by jockeying Turkey into parting with Cyprus—not a possession of great value, as its history has since proved. Mr. Gladstone attacked the Anglo-Turkish Convention as an "insane covenant." In return for Cyprus we undertook to defend the Asiatic frontier of Turkey; but reforms were to be introduced into the government

of the remaining Balkan States and of Asia Minor, where there was a great Armenian population not less oppressed than their co-religionists of Turkey in Europe.

But to return to the Conference. The British representatives were Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. They returned to London on the 15th of July, bringing with them what the great phrase-maker described as "Peace with honour." A Treaty had been signed which made Bulgaria autonomous, Servia and Roumania independent kingdoms, and gave Bosnia and Herzegovina over to Austrian occupation. The net result of the war and diplomacy was to free eleven millions of the Christian population of the region from the rule of the Sultan. There were quarrels and debates in Parliament about it, and about the diplomacy of the Cabinet, especially in regard to Lord Derby's resignation; but these may here be ignored. What cannot be so treated is the revenge Russia took upon English diplomacy by stirring up strife on the Indian frontier. A project had previously been mooted for placing a British Resident at Kabul. Lord Northbrook resigned rather than carry it out. Lord Lytton, his successor in the Viceroyalty, pressed it forward. When the Indian troops were brought from Malta as a threat to Russia that the Asiatic forces of the British Crown would be thrown into the scale against her, Russia prepared to invade India, and sent a mission to Kabul to obtain the co-operation of the Ameer, Shere Ali, who received them courteously and sent them away. Lord Lytton required that he should receive a British mission also, and a British envoy, Sir Neville Chamberlain, with a thousand

troops, was sent from Peshawar, a Mohammedan of high rank in the service of the Government, going ahead to secure Shere Ali's compliance. Shere Ali resented what seemed to him to be the forcing of a mission upon him, but was not unwilling to receive it for the purpose of clearing up any misconception due to the appearance of uninvited Russians in his capital. Formal permission for the mission to enter Afghanistan was delayed, and the British Government, losing patience, ordered it to advance. The advance guard, under Major Cavagnari, was stopped at Fort Ali Musjid and returned. War was then declared by the Indian Government, and war was what the forward school in India wanted. "The Viceroy of India," says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," "had deliberately put himself into a position to invite and receive a blow in the face from a semi-barbarous Asiatic prince. The Government were therefore compelled either to recall Lord Lytton, and treat the whole affair as a blunder, or avenge by war the rebuff which he had received. They chose the latter alterna-

tive, and the hearts of Liberal wirepullers were lifted up because, manifestly, even Lord Beaconsfield's Administration could not survive such an escapade as a third



Photo: Hughes & Mullins, Ryde, I. of W.

LORD BEACONSFIELD IN 1878.

Photographed at Osborne by command of Queen Victoria.

Afghan war. The debates on the policy of the Government were dismal reading for those who knew what Afghan campaigns meant. The Government shrank from resting their case on the transactions

which caused the war. It could not be concealed that on the 19th of August Lord Salisbury asked Russia to withdraw her mission from Kabul, and that on the 18th of September he received a scoffing reply informing him that the mission was only a temporary one of courtesy. As Sir Charles Dilke put it, Lord Salisbury was naturally dissatisfied with this reply, but being 'afraid to hit Russia, yet determined to hit somebody,' he 'hit Shere Ali.' Ministers, however, took up a broader ground of defence. They said that the Russian advances in Asia rendered it necessary for England to secure the independence of Afghanistan. All Indian statesmen were agreed that this could be done by guaranteeing his throne to Shere Ali, he on his side giving the Indian Government control over his Foreign policy. Shere Ali had been always willing to accept the guarantee and the pledge to defend him against foreign and domestic foes; but he would never consent to pay for it by putting his country under a diplomatic or military protectorate. On no consideration would he permit European agents to be stationed at Kabul, though he had no objection to receive Mohammedan agents, and neither Lord Mayo nor Lord Northbrook had thought it wise to press him on the point."

The war was short and successful. The death of Shere Ali was followed by the submission of his heir, Yakoob, and on the 26th of May, 1879, he signed a Treaty by which, in return for a subsidy of £60,000 a year, and defence by India against his enemies, he undertook that his Foreign policy should be as advised by a British Resident in Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari was made resident, and installed with a suite at Kabul.

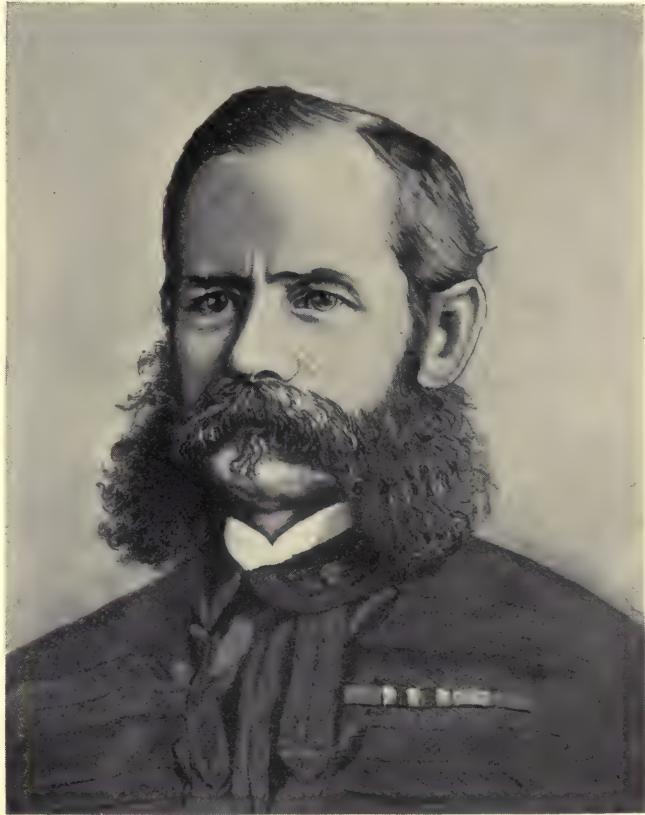
On the 3rd of September they were massacred by the Afghan soldiery "There was no alternative," says the writer already quoted, "but a military occupation, which meant that England must be ready to hold down by the sword a country as large as France, as impracticable for military movements as Switzerland, and inhabited by wild fanatical tribes as fierce, lawless, and savage as the hordes of Ghengis Khan. The Army of Vengeance under Sir Frederick Roberts, after much toil and many struggles, fought its way through the Shutargardan Pass, and captured Kabul on the 12th of October. The Ameer, Yakoob Khan, was forced to abdicate, and he was deported to Peshawar, and in the meantime Roberts governed the country by sword and halter. The hillmen attacked his communications. The attitude of the Kabulees, was, from the first, threatening, though General Roberts disregarded the warnings of the Persian newswriters, who told him that Afghanistan was going to rise about his ears. On the 14th of December the insurrection broke out in Kabul, and Roberts had to leave the city and fight his way round to the cantonments at Sherpur, where his supplies were stored, and where he took refuge and was soon besieged. In fact, in the middle of December the public learnt with extreme anxiety that every British post in Afghanistan was surrounded by swarms of fierce insurgents, and that a rescuing army must be organised at Peshawar without delay. Kabul itself was in the hands of Mohammed Jan, the victorious Afghan leader. Bitterly did Englishmen recall Lord Beaconsfield's speech a month before at the Lord Mayor's banquet, in which he assured his audience that the operations in

Afghanistan 'had been conducted with signal success,' that the North-West frontier of India had been strengthened and secured, and that British supremacy had been asserted in Central Asia. Fortunately, ere the year closed, General Gough, who had advanced from Gundamuk, was able to join hands with Roberts, who again made himself master of Kabul."

The outcome of the campaign was that in 1880 Abdurrahman was made Ameer and the British army was withdrawn under an agreement by which the Ameer received a subsidy from the Indian Government and consented to the control of his Foreign relations by Great Britain, which undertook to defend him from aggression by any other Power. Russian influence was thus more or less effectively excluded from Kabul.

Reverting to the Eastern question in Europe, a brief record will bring the narrative down to the closing years of the reign of Victoria. Let it be premised that, notwithstanding the Treaty of Berlin, Turkish oppression of her remaining Christian subjects in Europe and of the Christian population in Asia Minor continued to be as bad as it was before the war, and that the Powers which, so solemnly, had jointly pledged themselves to effect the needed reforms in this respect did not carry out that obligation.

The second Administration formed by Lord Salisbury, on the defeat of the Liberals over the Home Rule Bill in the year 1886, found itself confronted with a



LORD ROBERTS.

menacing situation in South Eastern Europe, where Prince Alexander of Bulgaria was kidnapped by revolutionists who were believed to be acting on Russian instigation. The disturbance threatened a reopening of the Eastern question and led to apprehensions of war, but the Prince was allowed to return to his kingdom. He abdicated in 1887, and was succeeded by Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a grandson of Louis Philippe.

For eight years Russian enmity towards Bulgaria was foiled by the ability of M. Stambuloff, the Prime Minister, who was, however, murdered by political foes in 1895. A new Minister, M. Stoiloff, of pro-Russian tendencies, reconciled Prince Ferdinand with the Czar, and the compact was sealed by the baptism of the heir to the throne, the infant Prince Boris, in the Greek Church, with the Czar as godfather. Since the Treaty of Berlin there had been no improvement in the Government of Turkey, and Asia Minor was in a state of spasmodic civil war. These troubles culminated in a series of massacres in 1893 and 1894, when twenty-five thousand Armenians were slain by Kurds and Turkish troops. The Armenians were treated by the Porte as being in revolt, and horrible excesses were proved against the soldiery. Public opinion in Europe was so shocked by what there was reason to regard as an attempt to exterminate the Armenian population of the Vilayet of Bitlis that the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin were forced to act, and the Concert of six was brought into being by Lord Kimberley, then Foreign Minister in Lord Rosebery's Administration. He would have acted with vigour. The Rosebery Government was on the point of issuing a forty-eight hours' ultimatum to Turkey, compelling her to accept a scheme of reforms or war, when the Ministry was defeated on a minor issue — the stores of cordite. The matter then passed into Lord Salisbury's hands. The issue was whether Christian Valis should be appointed to organise an administration on lines which would give the Christian population reasonable security against slaughter. The Sultan would not have

such Valis. Prince Lobanoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, was adverse to the use of force. His defection brought the Concert to a standstill. There were people in England who would have had this country act alone against Turkey at the risk of an Armageddon; others deprecated such a course, and found justification for caution in the evidence forthcoming of a widespread Armenian conspiracy. Lord Salisbury struck out a middle course for himself, and a new programme of reform was drafted to which the Powers agreed. The Sultan protested his solicitude for his Armenian subjects and would have none of it, putting in shape other administrative measures of his own. At the Guildhall banquet on the 9th of November, Lord Salisbury publicly expressed his distrust of these measures, and to a letter of remonstrance afterwards addressed to him by the Sultan made no comment, except that whatever was done must be by consent of the Powers. Isolated action by England being thus staved off, affairs drifted. Among the Armenians there was an outburst of revolutionary activity, which was suppressed with ruthless barbarity by the Porte. Asia Minor was drenched with blood. In vain did the Ambassadors protest. The Sultan went his way, and the Moslem populace, with the connivance and even active aid of the soldiery, slaughtered at will. "Has even one foreigner's nose bled either in the capital or the provinces?" was the Sultan's answer to Sir Philip Currie's protests. He knew full well that the Cabinets of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin would not act against him except for the protection of Europeans. In August, 1896, a party of Armenian anarchists seized the Ottoman

bank at Galata, and while the troops dealt with them the Moslem mob was let loose and slaughtered between five and six thousand Armenians in the streets of Constantinople. The anarchists had failed to terrorise the Sultan into submission; they had brought an awful vengeance upon their compatriots; and they had stereotyped the attitude of non-interference which the central Powers imposed on their colleagues in the Concert.

Finding the main problem insoluble, except at the risk of a general war, Lord Salisbury applied himself to a minor and local aspect of misrule in the Turkish dominions. Crete was in insurrection; there also Moslems and Christians were engaged in a war of extermination. Lord Salisbury set himself to obtain the liberation of Crete. The situation was complicated by a raid by Colonel Vassos, the landing of a

Greek force under Prince George, and a proclamation of union with Greece. But in this the Powers would not acquiesce, and each sent detachments from their warships, and the island passed under joint military occupation.

The Greeks, however, were spoiling for a fight with Turkey, and egged on by injudicious friends in England, disregarded the advice and remonstrances of the Powers, and appealed to arms. A Turkish army under Edhem Pasha poured through the passes and drove the Greek forces across the plains of Thessaly. Something of a stand was made at Velastinos, but Edhem pushed

the Greeks pell-mell to Domoko. On the 19th of May, 1897, a battle was opened south of Lamia, but had not proceeded far when the Crown Prince, who was in command, saved his army from destruction by hoisting the white flag. The Powers intervened to protect Greece against extinction, and she was let off by the payment of an indemnity of £4,000,000, and the loss of territory on the northern frontier. One of the

mysteries of the war was the inactivity of the Greek fleet which had Salonika at its mercy; one of its lessons was that Turkey was still a formidable military power. The Concert withstood the strain of these events because Lord Salisbury took the view that for any one power to go farther than other Powers willed, would result in "a bloody and desolating war;" the Opposition, however, were angered by his caution, and

complained that he had allowed England to be dragged at the heels of the three Emperors. During, and for some time after, the Turkish campaign in Greece matters in Crete and in the Near East generally were stationary. Lord Salisbury pressed for autonomy for Crete under a governor approved by the Powers. Russia favoured Prince George of Greece, and there were dissensions on this subject. The German Emperor wearied of the whole controversy, and visited our Ambassador at Berlin, Sir F. Lascelles, to "lay down his flute"—he would play no longer in the orchestra; the dignity of Germany did not permit her to continue discussions that were



PRINCE ALEXANDER OF
BULGARIA.

fruitless. Austria-Hungary followed suit, and each Power withdrew her contingent from the island. Again the Concert marked time. But the Cretan revolutionists did not, nor the Mohammedans, who in September attacked a British force at Candia. Admiral Noel bombarded the town, more troops were sent to the island, and the upshot was that Lord Salisbury induced the three other Powers to demand the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison. The Porte yielded to the ultimatum, the garrison was deported, and on the 21st of December Prince George took over the governorship of the island. Turkish rule there was at an end. As for Asia Minor the fratricidal warfare subsided by exhaustion. The Sultan continued master in his own house. As the years passed Macedonia supplanted the Armenian vilayets as the field of diplomacy on the apparently insoluble problems of Turkish

misgovernment. Here again the principle followed by our Foreign Office was that of action by common consent of the Powers, and marking time when general assent was unobtainable. Better that Moslem, Bulgar, Serb, Greek, and Armenian should perish by mutual extermination than that the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire should be allowed to set the armies of the Powers on the march against each other.

In the Far East there were events which were to have astounding developments in the later years of King Edward's life. In 1858 Lord Elgin visited Japan and made a treaty with the Mikado which secured certain privileges for British subjects. "A beautiful country," he wrote, "a moral people with habits of cleanliness and neatness, unspoiled by luxury or extravagance; a paternal government; a filial people; peace within



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PLEVNA.



Photo : Edwards, Littlehampton.

THE BRITISH LEGATION AT PEKIN.

and without; no want; no ill-will between classes: this is what I find in Japan after one hundred years of exclusion of foreign trade and foreigners." That was Japan under the medieval system. Ten years later the feudalism was abandoned, after internal war; the Imperial Court was brought to Tokio, and a Charter settled under which the Emperor swore to form a deliberative Assembly. Government by Ministry was meanwhile established. Japan had entered upon the path which was to make her a first-class power in the world and bind her in Treaty alliance with Great Britain.

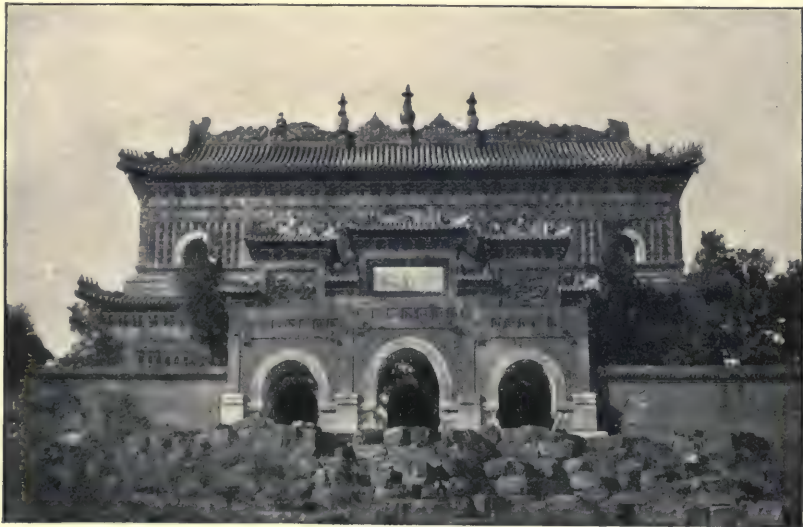
In China three English wars require

notice because they provide the starting point for a tangled story which will have to be narrated in a later volume. The first was in 1840, and arose from Chinese efforts to prohibit the English opium trade from India. After operations at Canton and on the Yangtse river, China concluded a Treaty ceding Hong Kong in perpetuity—a naval and trading base of immense value—paying an indemnity and opening five ports to trade, including Canton and Shanghai. This war was strongly condemned. The opium traffic was forced upon China. But that need not here be discussed. The fact to which attention should be called is the

opening of the ports. China could no longer shut out the European. The second war was in 1856-7, subsequent to the Canton authorities seizing (October 8, 1856) a "lorcha," the *Arrow*, flying the British flag, on a charge of piracy. The right of the *Arrow* to carry the British flag was doubtful. Anyway, Sir John Bowring, the British representative, demanded an apology and made further demands on China. These were refused and the Chinese fired the foreign "factories" and murdered some of the Europeans. Lord Elgin was sent out with troops, but these were diverted to India to suppress the Mutiny. An important Treaty was, however, made—the Treaty of Tientsin—on the 26th of June, 1858. It was to be ratified at Peking within a year. France was also a party to this Treaty. When the plenipotentiaries entered the Peiho river, to present themselves at the capital, they found their way blocked. The British admiral attempted to force a

passage, but was driven back by the fire of the Taku forts, with a loss of 460 killed and wounded. France and England then arranged a joint expedition, and in August, 1860, the Taku forts were captured and the expedition sent on the road to Peking. There were Chinese overtures for peace, and Lord Elgin sent a party forward to arrange for a meeting. The party was treacherously seized; four were tortured and died in prison, and others carried about the country in cages. Peking was attacked and the famous Summer Palace of the Emperor burned to the ground. On the 24th of October, 1860, a Treaty was signed and a British Minister established at Peking itself.

Thus began the new era of European relations with China. The policy of the exclusion of the European had failed. Wholly new conditions had been entered upon which were to have dramatic consequences in the last fifteen years of the life of King Edward the Seventh.



PART OF THE SUMMER PALACE OF THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

CHAPTER X

IRISH AFFAIRS AND HOME RULE

Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule—Irish Nationalism in Parliament—The Policy of Mr. Parnell—Mr. Biggar and the Prince of Wales—Mr. Chamberlain Enters the Cabinet—Obstructive Tactics in the House of Commons—The Land League and Its Propaganda—The Beginning of the Boycotting Campaign—Stormy Scenes in the Commons—The Phoenix Park Murders—The “Invincibles”—The Coercion Act—How it Worked—The Dublin Conspiracy Trials—“Number One” Killed—The Pitiful State of Ireland—The General Election of 1885—Mr. Gladstone Introduces “Home Rule”—Antagonism from both Parties—“Parnellism and Crime” in *The Times*—The Parnell Commission—Pigott in the Witness-box—His Flight and Suicide—A Split in the Liberal Ranks—Formation of the Unionist Party—The Home Rule Bill of 1893—Lord Rosebery’s Ministry.

SINCE the days when King Edward VII. was a young Hussar in the cavalry camp at the Curragh—days when memories of the horrors of the Famine were still fresh in Ireland—he had, in a variety of ways, shown an active interest in the recovery of the country and by visits to Dublin, and intercourse with distinguished Irishmen there and in English society, had exhibited much sympathy with the Irish race. We have given prominence early in this volume to a significant speech of his touching with diplomatic caution and brevity, and yet with a sureness which showed that he had formed definite opinions and did not fear that they should be known, on the problems of absentee landlordism and the evil housing of the peasantry. He maintained unbroken a high regard and personal friendship for Mr. Gladstone; and though we do not suggest, as has sometimes been asserted, that he was a Home Ruler, who would have supported either of the great Liberal’s legislative proposals for Irish self-government, it is within the mark to say that he was one in heart with Mr. Gladstone, or with anyone else

who sought a radical cure for the ills which afflicted the country, and was anxious to treat Ireland with the utmost magnanimity. Whoever studies his career cannot but think of him as a warm friend of the Irish nation, and as one who regarded with distaste and disfavour that section of the Irish landowning class which resisted at all hazards the alleviation of the economic wrongs of the Irish cultivator. That, at any rate, is the view of him in regard to Irish affairs which the present writer ventures to submit, at whatever risk of finding himself in conflict with partisan memories of the fierce controversies now alleviated by the land legislation for Ireland which distinguished His late Majesty’s reign. With that legislation or, rather, with the social aspects of it, we shall have to deal at some length when we come to write the narrative of the Reign. Our present duty is to invite the reader to take a rapid survey of the course of affairs in Ireland and of English politics in relation to Ireland, from the period of the return of the Prince from India to the death of his illustrious mother. Since the survey must comprise much criminal

*Photo: Bassano.*

LORD HARTINGTON.

activity in Ireland and one of the most atrocious political outrages of the century in any country—events which bitterly alienated the majority of Englishmen from their Irish fellow-subjects—the constancy of the late Sovereign's friendship for Ireland and of his sympathy for her people is the more remarkable. That he was constant in the generosity of his judgment in Irish matters, and in his belief that the remedy for Irish disloyalty was to be found in relieving the economic ills of Ireland, will not, we think, be disputed by those acquainted with his attitude of mind. That constancy attests the steadiness and magnanimity of his character.

With Lord Beaconsfield's return from the Berlin Congress, and with the subsidence of interest in the Eastern Question, Irish affairs came once more to the front, Mr. Butt, the Leader of Irish Nationalism in the Commons, was succeeded by Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, who with

Mr. Biggar began a policy of compelling attention to Irish grievances by obstructing English legislation. Of one of these manoeuvres the Prince of Wales himself was a victim. The House had a quarrel on with the Press. The Prince was in his seat over the clock—a seat which he frequently occupied over a long series of years. Mr. Biggar rose and, with mischievous humour, observed that he espied strangers in the House. The galleries were cleared, and out the Prince had to go with the rest. It was merely an incident in the campaign of obstruction. In the Session of 1877, the obstruction of the Irish members against a Prisons Bill revealed to the House that in Mr. Parnell and in Mr. Biggar the Government had to deal with men who had the ability to make the Parliamentary machine unworkable. New rules were therefore passed. Meanwhile, the state of Ireland was becoming worse. In April, 1878, a terrible agrarian crime was committed in Co. Donegal, Lord Leitrim, an extensive and exacting landowner, being murdered with two other persons. He had opposed the Land Act since 1870, had carried out many evictions, and was credited with having intended to rid his estates of many other tenants. He was driving on the highway with a car-driver and a clerk, when he was attacked by armed assassins who wounded him by a rifle shot and beat him to death on the highway. This murder may be taken as an indication of the strained relations between many landlords and a very large number of the tenantry in Ireland. In an economic sense also the state of the country was so bad that in 1880 the Government had to introduce an Irish Relief Bill, granting loans without interest to landlords and

others for the provision of work, and for the relaxation of outdoor relief. A Seeds Bill was also passed to enable farmers to get seeds on loan. But these measures did not touch the heart of the difficulty. Ireland was grossly over-rented, and the core of the trouble was that the economic value of the land did not permit the peasantry to pay such high rents and yet live in endurable conditions. This may be considered as the fundamental cause of the Home Rule agitation, and of the frightful crimes with which it was attended. In that year—1880—Lord Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country for a majority which would maintain the ascendancy of England in the Councils of Europe and arrest the Home Rule movement in Ireland—and Home Rule he described as “scarcely less disastrous than pestilence or famine.” The country rejected his addresses. Notwithstanding that Mr. Gladstone’s sympathies were believed to be with Irish Nationalism, and notwithstanding the disturbing character of Mr. Chamberlain’s appeals to democratic discontent in England, the country sent a Liberal majority to Westminster. “If Mr. Gladstone was the Napoleon, Mr. Chamberlain was the Carnot of the campaign,” says the writer of “The Life and Times of Queen Victoria.” “The cry went forth that some uncompromising Radical must have a seat in the Cabinet, and Mr. Chamberlain was suggested as the fittest person to select. But what had Mr. Chamberlain done? His speeches—hard, brilliant, and clever—were permeated with ‘socialism.’ Good Tory matrons were said to frighten their unruly babes with the whisper of his name. In Parliament he had chiefly dis-

tinguished himself by his obstructive tactics and his revolt against Lord Hartington’s leadership. He was even a more persistent opponent of the Monarchy than Sir Charles Dilke, who had abandoned the advocacy of Republicanism for the critical study of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Gladstone’s chief objection to Mr. Chamberlain was that he had no official training. Lord Hartington (who knew, to his cost, that his obstructive opposition in the House of Commons could be most embarrassing), on the other hand, was in favour of including Mr. Chamberlain in the Cabinet. So was Lord Granville, who probably thought that there was no surer way of muzzling a dangerous ‘Republican,’ as he dubbed him, than that of making him a Cabinet Minister. Still, the Whig antagonism to Mr. Chamberlain was too strong to be ignored, and a compromise was arrived at when office was offered to Sir Charles Dilke. He, however, refused to take any place unless one advanced



Photo: Lawrence, Dublin.
MR. PARNELL.

Radical, at least, was included in the Cabinet, and he said that Mr. Chamberlain should be chosen. After considerable intriguing Mr. Gladstone yielded, and Mr. Chamberlain became President of the Board of Trade. At the end of April the Cabinet was complete. Mr. Gladstone held the offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Selborne was Lord Chancellor; Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary; Lord Hartington, Indian Secretary; Mr. Childers, War Secretary; Lord Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Kimberley, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Bright, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board; Lord Spencer, Lord President of the Council. Outside the Cabinet, Mr. Fawcett became Postmaster-General; Sir Charles Dilke, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (the office which he specially desired, and for which he was specially qualified); Sir Henry James, Attorney-General; Sir Farrer Herschell, Solicitor-General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Adam (the famous Whip), First Commissioner of Works; and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Secretary to the Admiralty. Mr. Lowe was sent to the Upper House with a Peerage as Lord Sherbrooke."

In this Parliament Mr. Parnell developed his obstructive tactics, despite the new rules of procedure; and he found allies and imitators in a little group of young Tories, who became known as the Fourth Party—the party consisting of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Mr.—now Sir—John Gorst, and Mr. A. J. Balfour. But with

the fortunes of this group we are not here concerned. On the Irish benches there were no fewer than sixty-eight Home Rulers, who were welded into a powerful fighting machine under the stern and arrogant discipline of Mr. Parnell, a Protestant Irish squire, who had more brains and will power than any of his Nationalist contemporaries. The state of Ireland was deplorable, and Mr. Parnell introduced a Bill, which the Government, of course, opposed, for suspending evictions for non-payment of rent. He and his party had been carrying on a furious agitation in Ireland against evicting landlords and excessive rents, and he and they had denounced such landlords as enemies of the human race. In due course the Irish Land League was organised, with a programme in reality aimed at the abolition of landlordism in Ireland, but nominally restricted to what became known as the "three F's"—fair rent, free sale, fixity of tenure. The campaign against the landlords was carried on with a passion and rhetorical vigour such as only Irishmen with grievances can show. The meetings up and down the country-side in the south and west were often attended with disorder and collisions with the semi-military police, and not infrequently followed by crimes of violence against landlords and their agents and peasants who had taken farms whose holders had been evicted for the non-payment of rent, a non-payment not always due to inability to find the money, but traceable to the inflammatory incitements against rent-paying by the emissaries of the League, for whose policy Mr. Parnell must be held chiefly responsible. One phase of the policy of the League was the boycotting of landlords

or any other persons opposed to the League. Boycotting may be defined as putting a person in economic and social isolation. The thing itself is as old as human history. The new name took its origin from that of a Captain Boycott, an agent of Lord Erne, and a farmer of Lough Mask. He found himself treated worse than a leper. Nobody would work for him, speak to him, do business with him, or even supply him at any price with the necessities of life. Police guards watched over him and his family whilst they did their own farm and household work. At last, some of the Orange lodges in the north sent down a gang of armed labourers to help him. These were called "emergency men." Subsequently the dispute between Lord Erne and his tenants was arranged, and the leper's ban was removed from Captain Boycott's household. He wrote to Mr. Gladstone claiming compensation for the loss he had suffered, but the Prime Minister refused to accede to his request, on the ground that the Government had afforded him all necessary protection.

The system of boycotting spread like a plague. War had been declared on the landlord class, and that class defended itself wherever it could by pressing on evictions and in some cases by replanting their estates with emergency men from the Protestant North. The law was powerless. Ireland under the domination of the Land League fell into anarchy. When Parliament met in 1881 Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary, introduced on the 24th of January a Coercion Bill—a Bill for the protection of persons and property in Ireland. It gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to arrest persons suspected of treason, intimidation, boy-

cotting, and incitement to break the law. With this power, said Mr. Forster, he would be able to put under lock and key the "village ruffians" through whom the Land League executed its policy against obnoxious persons. The Bill was attacked with violence by Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, and there were stormy scenes in the House, during which Mr. Parnell and other Nationalists were suspended by the Speaker for obstinate

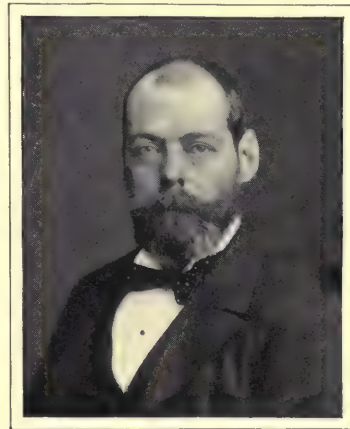


Photo: Bassano.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

disobedience to his rulings. On one night twenty-eight Irish members were expelled the sitting. New rules of procedure had to be introduced before the Bill could be passed. On the 7th of April Mr. Gladstone introduced a new Land Bill. It gave tenants the right to go before a Land Court and have "fair rents" fixed for fifteen years, a fair rent being one that would let the tenant live and thrive. During these fifteen years eviction, save for non-payment of rent, was to be impossible. If a tenant wished to sell his tenant-right or goodwill, the landlord had the pre-emptive right of

buying at the price fixed by the court. The court was to have power to advance to tenants desirous of buying their farms three-fourths of the purchase-money, or even the whole if need be, and these advances were repayable on easy terms. Advances could also be made to promote emigration. The Bill was well received on the whole by the country, but the landed gentry denounced it as an act of socialism and confiscation, and the Duke of Argyll resigned his office.

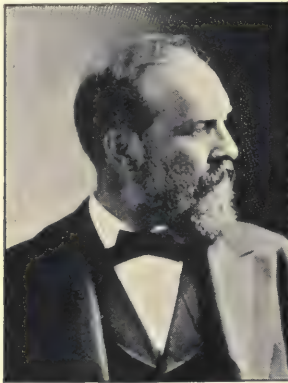


Photo: Sarony, New York.
PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

The discussions on this measure were also fierce and protracted. For the Tories it was revolutionary; for the Irish Nationalists it was utterly inadequate. Meanwhile Ireland was going from bad to worse, and the statistics of agrarian crime were mounting upwards. Let us pause for a moment to remind the reader that on the 19th of April of this year Lord Beaconsfield died; that on the 14th of March the Czar Alexander the Second—the noble liberator of the serfs—was murdered outside his capital by Nihilists; that on the 18th of July the Prince of Wales lost a dear and faith-

ful friend by the death of Dean Stanley; and that on the 2nd of that month Mr. James A. Garfield, the President of the United States, was murdered at Washington by a political crank. It was, indeed, a melancholy year; but our business now is with Ireland. The new Land Act led to further war, not peace. Mr. Parnell and the League obstructed it. Mr. Gladstone publicly attacked Mr. Parnell for interfering with the course of the law. Mr. Parnell made a bitter speech in reply, which the Government regarded as criminal, and on the 13th of October Mr. Parnell and several of the leading members of his party were arrested in Dublin and lodged in Kilmainham gaol. Ireland would have revolted but for the army of occupation. The Land League retaliated for the arrest of the popular leaders by issuing a manifesto calling upon the people to pay no rent. Mr. Forster suppressed the Land League as an illegal association. This was followed by a general outbreak of agrarian crime. Mr. Forster retaliated by filling the prisons of Ireland with suspects under the Coercion Act. The Tory party joined with the Nationalists in denouncing the Land Act as a failure, and there were rumours of a Tory-Nationalist alliance to turn out the Government. The House of Lords appointed a committee to inquire into the working of the Act. The Government countered this stroke by proposing a resolution in the Commons condemning the proposed investigation as mischievous. Much of the early part of the Session of 1882 was thus spent in protracted and acrimonious debates on the working of an Act which, but for the parallel and simultaneous operation of coercion, or the need of coercion,

which had, apart from economic causes, been created by the Land League, might have brought some measure of peace to Ireland. Throughout this controversy Mr. Forster acted with persistent and drastic vigour in Ireland, and arrested

suspected persons, as well as of those against whom unlawful acts were provable, progress with business was blocked and the Government were losing support both in the House and in the country. The Radical wing of the Liberal party



Photo : Lawrence, Dublin.

THE COURT HOUSE AND GAOL AT KILMAINHAM.

right and left, until it was difficult to find prison accommodation. The situation was rapidly becoming impossible in Ireland, because the more arrests that were made the more had to be made; and it was becoming equally impossible in Parliament, for, what with the Conservative-Parnellite combination for tactical purposes and Radical uneasiness at the wholesale arrests of merely

tried to obtain the removal of Mr. Forster, and Mr. Parnell was approached in Kilmainham prison through an intermediary, Captain O'Shea. Mr. Parnell was inclined to come to terms if Mr. Forster's coercion policy could be relaxed, and measures of conciliation and remedy accompanied the relaxation. The writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria" thus carries the record forward

to the retirement of Mr. Forster and the terrible crime that followed :—

"Letters were exchanged, in one of which Mr. Parnell said that a promise to deal with the question of arrears would do much to bring peace to Ireland; for the Nationalists would then be able to exert themselves, with some hope of success, in stopping outrages. But the Land Act would have to be extended to leaseholders, and the Purchase Clauses enlarged. If this programme were carried out, wrote Mr. Parnell on the 28th of August, 1881, to Captain O'Shea, it 'would enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal Party in forwarding Liberal principles; and I believe that the Government at the end of the Session would, from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly justified in dispensing with future coercive measures.' This letter was shown to Mr. Forster, and it seems that the Cabinet was also put in possession of Mr. Parnell's views. Mr. Forster was not of opinion that they justified his release. Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain thought that they displayed a reasonable spirit which would justify a new departure of conciliation in Irish policy. Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and the other suspects were therefore released, and Lord Cowper, the Irish Viceroy, and Mr. Forster resigned office. Mr. Forster was of opinion that Mr. Parnell should have been compelled to promise publicly not to resist the law, or, failing that, that a stronger Coercion Act should have been passed before he was set at liberty. Lord Spencer was appointed to succeed Lord Cowper, and Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Mr. Forster as Chief Secretary. On the 6th of May, within forty-eight

hours of their appointment, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, were butchered by a band of assassins in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, by a secret society calling themselves the 'Invincibles.' In his speech condemning the release of the suspects, whilst he maintained that Ireland was not yet quiet, Mr. Forster had declared that the country was quieter than it had been, that the Land League was crushed, and boycotting checked! He had never suspected that the place of the Land League had been taken by a secret society of desperadoes called the 'Invincibles,' and that assassination was to be substituted for boycotting. His administration had been, indeed, singularly ineffective. With power in his hands, as absolute as that of a Russian Minister of Police, he seems never to have suspected the existence of the band of murderers who had organised themselves in Dublin, and who had dogged his own steps in sight of the detectives who watched over him day after day seeking for a chance of slaying him. The tragedy upset the scheme for 'a new departure,' which Mr. Chamberlain had induced the Government to undertake. Though Englishmen behaved with great calmness and self-restraint after the first shock of horror which the Phoenix Park murders sent through the nation had passed away, they were resolved to offer no more concessions to Ireland till the Government took fresh powers for enforcing law and suppressing outrages. Mr. Gladstone interpreted the national will accurately when he determined not to withdraw the conciliatory portion of his Irish programme. But he recast his plans, and gave his coercive precedence

over his remedial measures. The Irish Party were probably sincere in regretting and in condemning the murders. The *prestige* of their Parliamentary policy was sullied when it ended in a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, and in the demonstration of their impotence to control the forces which they pretended to have in hand. The Tories and Ministerialists were alike discredited by the untoward mishap. The alliance between the Tory Party and the Home Rulers had influenced every Parliamentary bye-election and every division in the House of Commons. The motion of Sir John Hay condemning the imprisonment of the 'suspects' and the offer of Mr. W. H. Smith's scheme for expropriating the landlords were palpable bids for the

Parnellite vote. By releasing the 'suspects,' promising to deal with the question of arrears, and to take the Land Purchase Question in hand, the Ministry outbade their rivals. But the Opposition and the Cabinet were alike guilty of negotiating with men whom in public they pretended to denounce as irreconcilable enemies of the Empire; and the end of it all was the tragedy in the Phoenix Park! That affair had only a coincidental relation to the antecedent Party intrigues; but the people saw connection where there was only coincidence. Hence English-

men for a time lost faith in their public men. They felt towards them as their forefathers did towards Charles I. when the Glamorgan Treaty was revealed, and towards Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell when the "Lichfield House" compact between O'Connell and the Whigs was unmasked. For a time this feeling cowed partisans below the gangway on



PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN.
(The crosses show where the murders took place.)

both sides who had been mainly responsible for the negotiations and intrigues with the Home Rulers. The Government tried to atone for its misfortune by continuing Lord Spencer as Irish Viceroy and appointing Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Trevelyan as Irish Secretary, Lord Spencer to be entirely responsible for Irish policy in the Cabinet. This was the best selection that could be made. Lord Spencer represented the type of Englishman who, from his courage, common sense, love of justice, business-like habits, administrative skill, and dis-

interested patriotism, was most likely to establish an enduring and endurable system in Ireland, if that were to be done by firm and resolute government tempered by strong popular sympathies. Mr. Trevelyan was patient, industrious, and courteous as an administrator, and his success as a man of letters rendered him in some degree a *persona grata* to the Irish Party, most of whose leaders were writers for the Press. The new Coercion Bill was

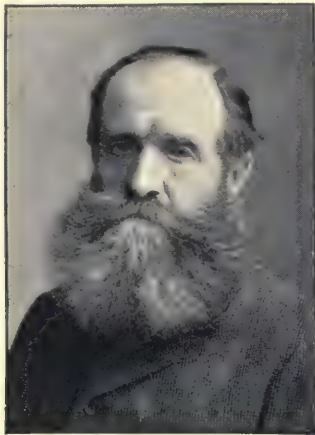


Photo: London Stereoscopic Co.
EARL SPENCER.

introduced on the 11th of May, and read a second time on the 19th. It suspended trial by jury in certain cases and in proclaimed districts; gave the police fresh powers of arrest and search, and revived the Alien Act; it defined as punishable offences intimidation, incitement to crime, and participation in secret conspiracies and illegal assemblies; it rendered newspapers liable to suppression for inciting to violence, widened the summary jurisdiction of stipendiary magistrates, and levied fines of compensation on districts stained with murderous outrages. It was at once seen that the chief merit of the

Bill lay in the fact that it frankly attacked and punished criminals, thereby reversing, and by implication condemning, the feeble and futile policy of Mr. Forster, who attacked and imprisoned at will persons who were merely suspect."

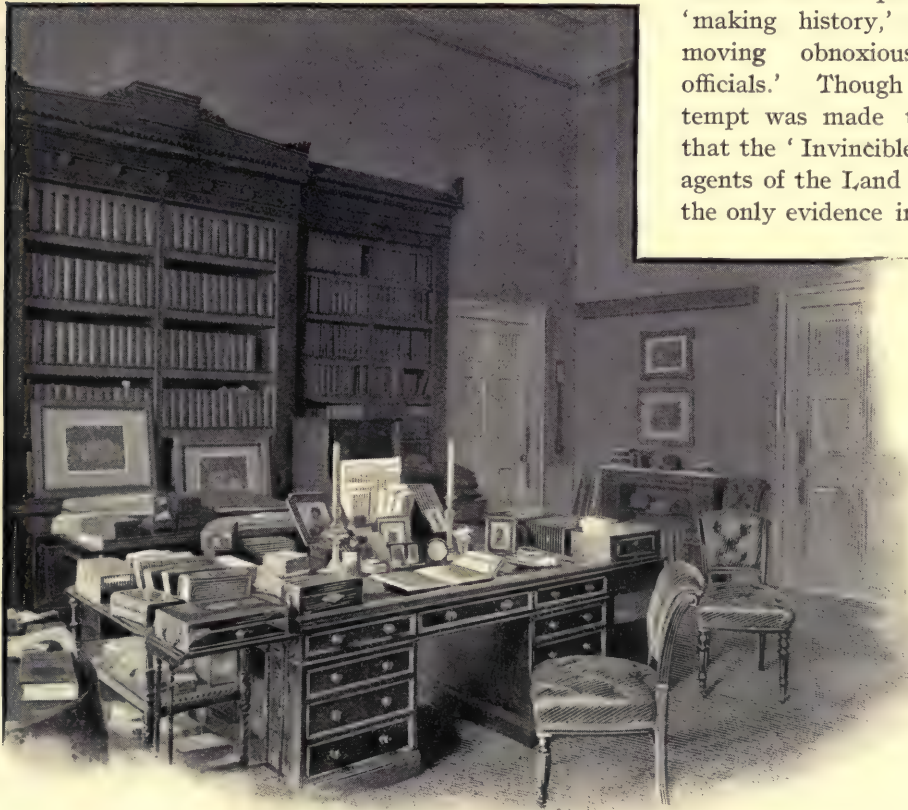
The atrocious slaughter of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish hardened the hearts of Englishmen against the Nationalists, and men who kept cool heads and sane judgments on the morrow of the tragedy were few indeed. But among the few were the responsible members of the Government and the leaders of the Conservative Opposition. The new Viceroy, Lord Spencer—whose death occurred in the summer of 1910, to the grief of all parties in the State—comported himself with dignity and calmness; and though for many weeks he was in hourly peril of his life, he never faltered in the resolute suppression of crime, or failed to differentiate between the unrest of the mass of the Irish people and the criminal conspiracies which defamed the nation. Events had convinced the leaders of opinion that Mr. Forster's Coercion Act and also his methods had failed, and that though coercion was necessary, there must be simultaneous remedial legislation which would deprive the harder-hearted members of the landlord class of their power to exact arrears of inequitable rents, and to use their legal power to claim these arrears as a means of dispossessing the tenantry of their holdings. The Government, therefore, introduced a new Coercion Bill and a Bill dealing with arrears on holdings under £30 in value. The Land Courts were empowered to pay half the arrears out of the Irish Church surplus, but no pay-

ment was to exceed a year's rent, and such a payment cancelled all arrears. The Coercion Bill was violently opposed by the Nationalists, and there were stormy scenes in the Commons. It was passed with alacrity by the Lords, who, however, stoutly resisted the Arrears Bill, as also did a number of the landowners on the Conservative benches in the Commons; but their resistance was unavailing. Under the combined influence of these measures the state of Ireland slowly improved.

Meanwhile, twenty men had been tried in Dublin for conspiracy to murder

Government officials. "For the most part," says the writer already quoted, "they were artisans of the inferior order, but one, James Carey, was a builder and contractor, and a member of the Dublin Town Council. Under the pressure of examination Farrell and others turned informers. Carey, finding that other members of the gang were going to save their necks, offered to betray the conspiracy of which he had been the guiding organiser. From his evidence it appeared that, after Mr. Forster had put all the popular leaders of the Irish people in gaol, a band of desperadoes, called the 'Invincibles,' was

formed for the purpose of 'making history,' by 'removing obnoxious Irish officials.' Though an attempt was made to show that the 'Invincibles' were agents of the Land League, the only evidence in favour



THE LORD-LIEUTENANT'S ROOM IN THE VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN.

of this supposition rested on a statement which Carey admitted he had made. Two emissaries from America furnished the 'Invincibles' with their funds, and Carey said that he thought they 'perhaps' got the money from the Land League. He also said that the knives used for the Phoenix Park murders were delivered in Ireland by a woman, whom he took to be Mrs. Frank Byrne, wife of a Land League official. When, however, he was confronted with Mrs. Byrne he could not identify her. It is only just to add that the diary of one of the accused was full of expressions of scorn for the constitutional Home Rule agitators. We may therefore safely infer that, after Mr. Forster had suppressed the Land League and put its chiefs in prison, what happened in Ireland is what has happened in every country. For open agitation secret societies were substituted, and midnight assassins took the place of constitutional leaders. The conspirators appear to have long dogged Mr. Forster's steps, but failed to get a chance of killing him. They had no desire to attack Lord Frederick Cavendish; indeed, till he was pointed out to them they did not know him by sight. He perished on the 6th of May because he defended his companion, Mr. Burke, who had been marked for 'removal.' Carey was the man who had given the signal for the advance of the murderers, and he was also base enough afterwards, at a meeting of the Home Manufacturers' Association, to propose that a vote of condolence should be sent to Lady Frederick Cavendish. The end of it all was that five of the conspirators, Brady, Curley, Fagan, Caffrey, and Kelly, were hanged. Delaney, Fitzharris, and Mullett were sent to penal servitude for life, and

the others to penal servitude for various terms. True bills were found against three individuals, Walsh, Sheridan, and Tynan, the last said to be the envoy who supplied the 'Invincibles' with money, and who was only known to Carey as 'Number One.' Carey was shot dead at the Cape of Good Hope by a man called O'Donnell, when on his way to a refuge in a British Colony, an offence for which O'Donnell was tried at the Old Bailey and hanged."

Public indignation at the murder of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish not unnaturally concentrated itself upon Mr. Parnell. He had been in prison at the time of the outrage, and there was not a tittle of evidence to establish complicity of any kind with the "Invincible" conspirators. With savage scorn of English popular feeling, Mr. Parnell, when he was attacked in the Commons by Mr. Forster, declined to have any converse with him and treated his other assailants with an insolent disdain, though he offered a short and cogent argument in disproof of the allegation that he and his colleagues had been in conscious association with conspirators to murder. The speech had no effect in allaying English resentment at his attitude. It was so much admired in Ireland that a national testimonial was started which, despite the poverty of the country, reached a sum of £40,000. The record of the two succeeding years may be epitomised by saying that the social warfare in Ireland ran its course to the disadvantage alike of the landlords and of the criminal element in the country, and that Westminster was a hotbed of political intrigue, the compact body of Nationalists, under the masterly discipline of Mr. Parnell, being

able to play off one Party against another and paralyse the energies of Parliament. Meanwhile, the principle of Home Rule as a way of escape from an intolerable situation in Ireland, and an equally

as the Ashbourne Act, which contained the principle of the purchase of holdings by the tenantry with advances made by the State. This was the price paid by the Conservatives for Mr. Parnell's support



THE SCENE OF THE MITCHELSTOWN RIOTS.

intolerable situation in Parliament, steadily gained ground in the English mind, and politicians on both sides sought to find common means of action with the Nationalist group. A Nationalist-Conservative combination in the lobby had defeated the Government on the 8th of June, 1885, and there was a stop-gap Conservative Ministry, which dropped Coercion and passed a Land Act, known

in the Lobby. During this period each Party endeavoured to "square" the Nationalists and arrange a stable basis of political alliance in view of the coming General Election. For the Conservatives, Lord Carnarvon, who had succeeded Lord Spencer in the Lord-Lieutenancy, opened negotiations with Mr. Parnell, from which it appeared that the Conservatives were not unwilling to set up a Legislature

again in Dublin; and Mr. Chamberlain, for his party, offered the Nationalists Home Rule in the guise of four Provincial Parliaments. The Radicals were

and other momentous questions which Lord Hartington satirically described as of a Socialistic tendency. In the General Election of November, 1885, Mr. Glad-

stone had appealed to the country to give him a majority that would make him independent of the Nationalist vote. The answer was indecisive, for the new House of Commons contained 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Parnellites. As the Nationalists were thus masters of the situation Mr. Gladstone's mind moved rapidly in the direction of Home Rule, and he formed a Cabinet on the basis of a Memorandum for the creation of a Legislature in Dublin to deal with Irish as distinct from Imperial affairs. When this was accomplished it was seen that many of his old colleagues, such as Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Lord Selborne Lord Northbrook, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cowper, and Sir Henry James, had refused to

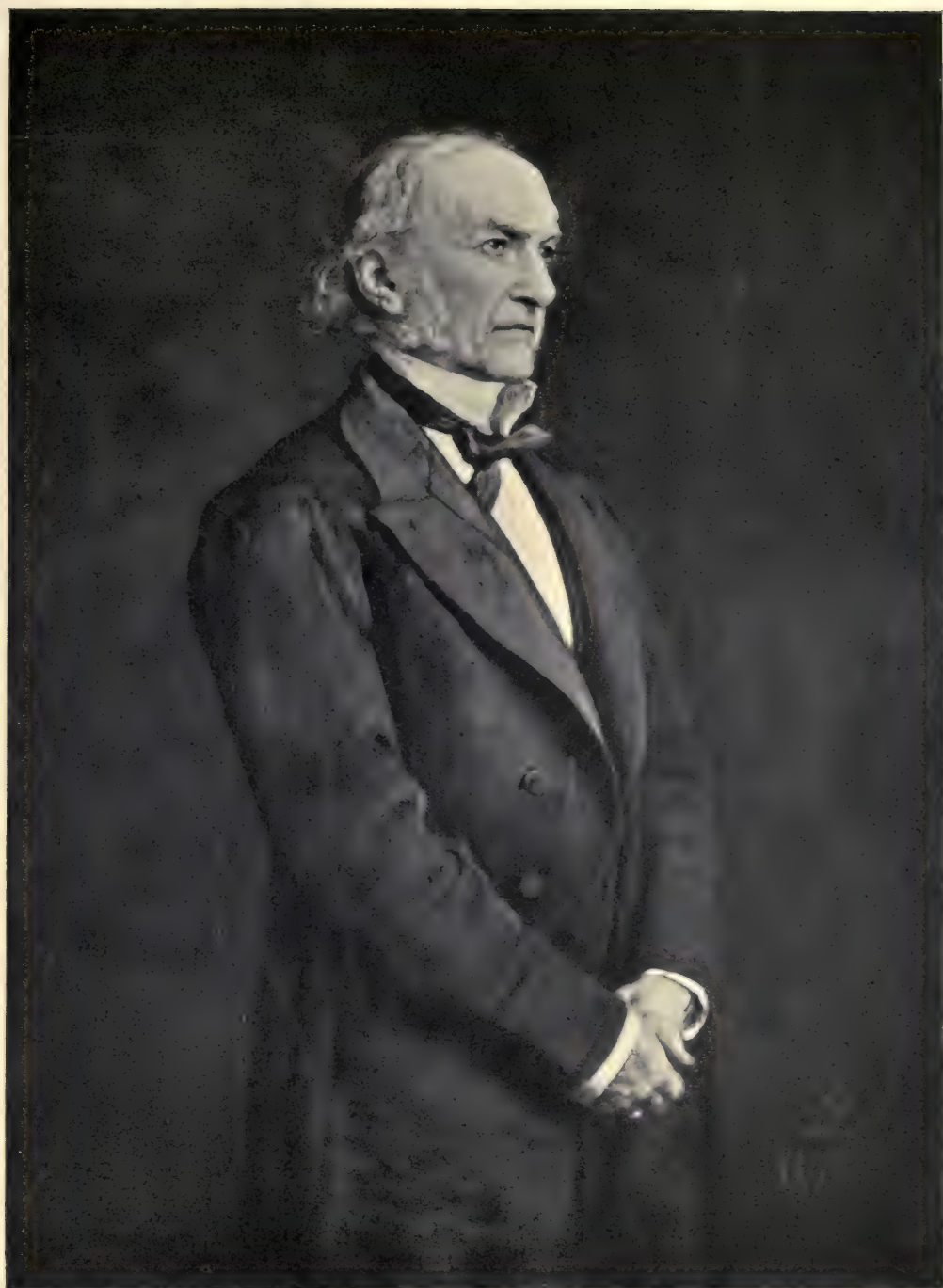
desperately anxious to get the Irish Question out of their way in order to proceed, under Mr. Chamberlain's leadership, with the abolishment of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church, an attack on English landlordism,

join him. The appointment of Lord Aberdeen as Lord-Lieutenant was not very significant. But that Mr. John Morley, the most pronounced of all the English advocates of Home Rule, should have been appointed as Chief Secretary for



LORD SALISBURY.

Photo: Phillips, Belfast.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.
From the Painting by Sir J. E. Millais, P.R.A.

Ireland meant much. Lord Rosebery was made Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman Secretary at War. Both were known to be Home Rulers. Lord Spencer had also become a convert to Home Rule principles, and was appointed President of the Council. Oddly enough, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, who were both pledged against Home Rule, had joined the Ministry. But they had been induced to do so on



Photo: Lafayette, Dublin.
MR. A. J. BALFOUR.

the assurance that, in the meantime, the policy of the Cabinet would be only to examine and inquire into the Home Rule question.

The question of Home Rule overshadowed every other, and a tremendous agitation arose. The Conservatives had appealed to the country on the basis of resolute opposition to any infraction of the principle of the Act of Union. The leadership of the Conservative party had passed on the death of Lord Beaconsfield to Lord Salisbury, who had disavowed the Carnarvon negotiations with Mr. Parnell,

and pledged the Party up to the hilt against any form of Irish self-government. Coercion—twenty years of resolute government with cautious extensions of the Ashbourne Act—was the policy of the Party. Lord Randolph Churchill worked on the passions of Ulster. "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right," he declared in a famous speech; and in another speech he stigmatised the Home Rulers as "Separatists," and dignified his own party with the name of "Unionists." In March, Mr. Chamberlain retired from the Cabinet, finding the Bill of Mr. Gladstone "tantamount to a proposal for separation." Mr. Gladstone, in introducing the Bill, represented it as one to make laws for Ireland to manage Irish affairs. His description of its purely local effect and of the exclusion of Irish representatives from the Imperial Parliament aroused further criticism, and many Liberals followed Mr. Chamberlain. Thus the Liberal-Unionist Party came into existence. A meeting, called by Lord Hartington, at Devonshire House, and attended by over a hundred Liberals, sealed the fortunes of the Bill, and on the second reading Mr. Gladstone found himself in a minority of 38—93 Liberals going into the Lobby against him. He announced a dissolution, and a furious General Election was fought. The figures were: Conservatives 316, Liberal-Unionists 78—total, 394; against 191 Gladstonians and 85 Parnellites. Power thus passed to Lord Salisbury as the head of a combination of Conservatives and Liberal dissentients. Lord Randolph Churchill was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. A. J. Balfour was given a minor place, from which he soon passed to the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland. Mr. Parnell, in default of getting

a Bill reducing rents fifty per cent., launched a "Plan of Campaign," by which tenants in combination offered the rents they thought fair, and paid nothing if these were not accepted. Again disorder and agrarian crime increased in Ireland; but the Nationalists found Mr. Balfour sternly equal to his task. A new Coercion

Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish. Mr. Parnell denounced it as a forgery; but he was not believed by many, either in the House or the country. In a libel action brought against *The Times* by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, that newspaper produced letters alleged to have been written by the Irish leader. Mr. Parnell



THE OFFICES OF THE TIMES.

Bill was introduced. At this stage *The Times* was publishing a series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime," the object of which was to establish an association between leading Nationalists and criminal conspiracies and acts. On the morning of the day for the second reading of the Crimes Bill an article of the series appeared containing what purported to be a facsimile letter, signed Charles Stewart Parnell, seeming to regret having made a public condemnation of the murder of

repudiated them in the House, and demanded a Select Committee. This the Government refused. They appointed instead a Special Commission of three Judges—Sir James Hannen, Mr. Justice A. L. Smith, and Mr. Justice Day—to inquire into all the charges against Mr. Parnell and his colleagues in the "Parnellism and Crime" series. The preliminary meeting was held on the 17th of September, 1886, and proceedings opened on the 22nd of October, from which day

this Commission sat day by day in the Law Courts. Sir Richard Webster (now Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice) was present as counsel for *The Times*, and Sir Charles Russell (the late Lord Russell of Killowen, afterwards Lord Chief Justice) acted as leading counsel for the Irish Party, with Mr. H. H. Asquith, now Prime Minister, as junior.

On the 18th of February a certain Richard Pigott, an elderly, white-bearded man, who appeared to have been familiar with the political under-currents in Ireland, was called as a witness to the authenticity of the Parnell letters. He had supplied them to *The Times* writer. He told a story which fell to pieces under cross-examination. The Court adjourned on Friday, the 22nd of February, before the cross-examination was completed, but not before *The Times* bubble as to the chief incriminating letter had burst. On the Saturday Pigott called on Mr. Labouchere, M.P., and signed a confession. On the Monday he fled, and his name was called in Court in vain. A warrant was issued for his arrest, and he was traced to an hotel in Madrid, where he shot himself dead on the arrival of the police officers. From that moment it was plain what the findings of the Commission would be. The public did not wait for the Judges' Report—which was not issued until February, 1890—to acquit Mr. Parnell of having written the *Times* letters, or being otherwise a party to the crimes of the "Invincibles" and the "Clan-na-Gael." As to the other charges against the Nationalists, most of them were proved. Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. Davitt, Mr. Dillon and others—excepting Mr. Parnell—were held to have started the Land League to bring about the independence of Ireland ;

to have conspired by a system of intimidation against the payment of rents ; to have encouraged intimidation, and to have invited and obtained the co-operation of the Physical Force Party in the United States and of the "Clan-na-Gael." Though the Report acquitted Mr. Parnell of writing the letters, it nevertheless proved the Unionist case that behind the Home Rule agitation was a criminal conspiracy having for its object the independence of Ireland as a separate nation. There was a great debate in the Commons on the 3rd of March, when Mr. W. H. Smith moved that "the House thank the Judges and adopt the Report." To this Mr. Gladstone moved an amendment condemning the charges in very strong language, and expressing regret for the wrong done to the Irish members. Lord Randolph Churchill made a speech of exceptional violence, and in a paroxysm of anger used an expression which shocked and revolted the House. It was his last notable appearance on a great occasion. His health gave way. A trip to South Africa seemed to restore his powers. But one night, during the early days of the Rosebery Government, he rose to take part in an important debate, and in a short time became confused, and then inarticulate, and had to sit down. After this painful scene his public appearances were few. The end came on the 24th of January, 1895. He was but forty-six, and no man of his day in England had at so early an age made so deep an impression upon his contemporaries.

The struggle between Mr. Balfour and the agitators in Ireland was waged with varying fortune, but the Government obtained the upper hand. In 1890 Mr. Parnell was ruined. He had been carrying



	E. McCaffrey.		Joe Hanlon.
Pat Delaney.	Tom Caffrey.	Myles Kavanagh.	Fitzharris.
	Tim Kelly.	Joe Brady.	Dan Curley.
			Michael Fagan.
			James Carey.

A MEETING OF THE IRISH "INVINCIBLES."

on an intrigue with the wife of Captain O'Shea, who took divorce proceedings. Mr. Parnell married the lady when the decree was made absolute, but he was deposed from the leadership, after a long party struggle in one of the Committee Rooms of the Commons, and succeeded by Mr. Justin McCarthy, a distinguished journalist and author. On the 6th of October, 1891, Mr. Parnell died. A General Election in 1893 resulted in a victory for Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule issue, and he found himself in power with a majority of forty. On the 13th of February, 1893, he introduced his second Home Rule Bill, which retained the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament,

and expressly excluded foreign affairs, the Army and Navy, Customs and Trade from the Irish Parliament. Mr. Gladstone fought for it with passionate eloquence, and it passed the Commons by a majority of thirty-four. The House of Lords rejected the Bill by a vote of four hundred and nineteen to forty-one. Mr. Gladstone resigned office, and was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, who forthwith put Home Rule on the high shelf by speaking of England as the predominant partner of the three Kingdoms: England, he said, would have to be convinced of the justice of the claim for Home Rule before Home Rule could be granted. The battle for it had been fought and lost.



A SITTING OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY AND PERSONAL OCCURRENCES

The Visit of the Shah—Deaths in the Royal Family: Princess Alice; the Duke of Albany; the Duke of Clarence; the Duchess of Teck—The Marriage of the Duke and Duchess of York—The Birth of Prince "Eddie"—The Opening of the Tower Bridge—A Question of Precedence—Assassination of Alexander II.—Attack on the Prince of Wales at Brussels—The Gordon-Cumming Case—The Accident at Waddesdon Manor—The Question of the Prince's Expenses—A Parliamentary Arrangement—Marriage of the Princess Royal and of Princess Maud—Albert Edward Celebrates His Silver Wedding—Illness and Death of the German Emperor Frederick—Prince Christian Victor Dies in South Africa—The Return of the C.I.V.'s.

NOT the least arduous feature of the life of the Prince of Wales was the reception for the Queen of foreign monarchs and notabilities. Old people can remember the visit of the Shah—that spectacled, moustached, turbaned, much-jewelled, and unimpressive-looking potentate. The interest taken in him by the public was chiefly personal, but in part political. There was a Persian question then as now, very vexatious to Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, and to the Government of India; for it formed part of the tremendous issue whether Russia would attempt to evict us from India, which she seemed anxious to do by a policy of diplomatic and military aggression everywhere in the East. Something will have to be said on this matter in a later volume, when the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* effected by Edward VII. and his Ministers is described. It is enough now to say that the frantic anxiety of the London populace to see the Shah was due not a little to the fact that the mob knew him as a factor in Anglo-Russian rivalry, in addition to which was the fascination of his unusual personality. The Press wrote about him as only the Press can. The

Daily Telegraph, then in the early years of its power of fascinating the mind and stirring the sluggish imagination of the English people, got to work upon the Shah and upon all things Persian from the dawn of history. Hence the public went crazy about the Shah, and the wildest stories were invented of him. From the time of his departure from his capital in May, 1873, to his leave-taking in London in July, he absorbed the mind of the country, or at least of London and of all who could get to London to share in the excitement of his visit. To the English people he was a mighty Asiatic potentate, representing an ancient dynasty, and the popular cry was that he must be impressed with the power of England. On the 18th of June the long-expected guest landed at Dover from Ostend. The cannon of the Channel fleet thundered forth a salute, and the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur welcomed him as he stepped on the pier.

No foreign potentate ever had a noisier reception on arriving in London. The Shah was lodged in Buckingham Palace, and on the 20th of June was received in State by the Queen at Windsor Castle, the Prince and Princess of Wales and

many other Royal personages being present; among them the Czarevitch and his wife, sister of the Princess of Wales, both of whom had accompanied his Persian Majesty from St. Petersburg. Having lunched at the Castle, the Shah was whisked back to town, and in the evening taken to a grand banquet at the Guildhall, where he dined with the Lord Mayor in the company of the Prince and Princess of Wales and their Russian guests. Thereafter there was a ball, which the Shah watched with Oriental impassivity until supper time, returning to Buckingham Palace after midnight. The days were crowded with public engagements, in which the Prince of Wales accompanied the Royal visitor, and wherever the Shah went there were mobs of amused and excited spectators. He was taken to

Woolwich and treated to an exhibition of British power as expressed by her home batteries of artillery, to Windsor Great Park to witness a review of the troops of all arms, to Spithead to see the finest Fleet in the world, to the West India docks on the Thames to marvel at the forests of masts which represented but a fraction of the greatest Mercantile Marine the seas had ever borne. There were State performances at the Opera, State concerts at the Albert Hall, State balls at Buckingham Palace; and on the 5th of July he left these shores sated with spectacles and entertainments, all of which he suffered with Oriental imperturbability. The Prince of Wales and his brothers saw him off, and there was a profuse interchange of presents. The Shah passed from the vision of English-

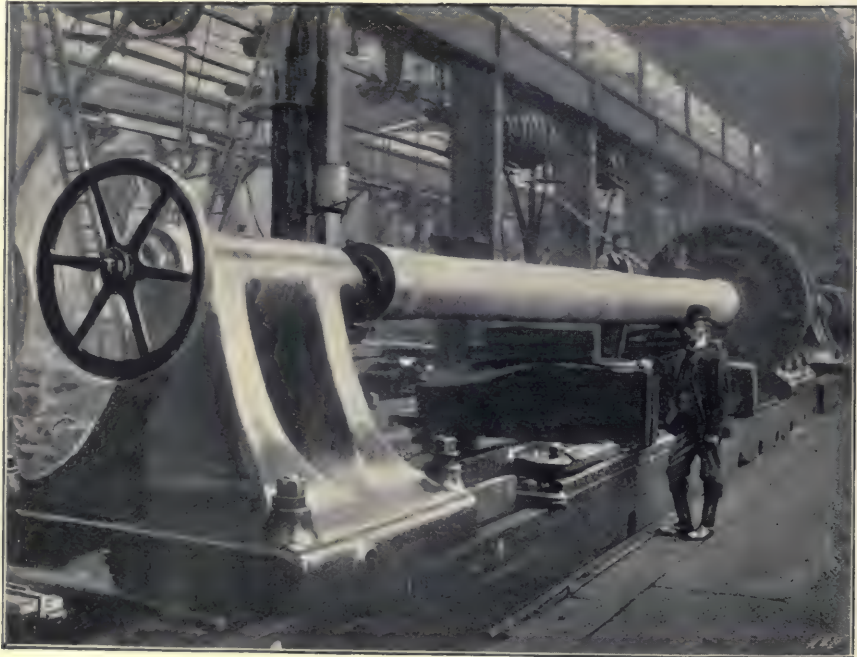


Photo: Gregory.

WOOLWICH ARSENAL: TURNING THE BARREL OF A 62 GUN.



Photo: Russell.

THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES AND FAMILY IN 1880

men to France, and events were to show that the political fruits of the visit were small. Not until King Edward ascended the Throne was Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia to cease.

During the period covered by this volume the Royal Family of England sustained many bereavements. On the 12th of June, 1878, George V., ex-King of Hanover, grandson of our own George III. and first cousin of Queen Victoria, died at Paris. Queen Victoria had not forgiven the treasonable intrigues which his father, her uncle, King Ernest Augustus of Hanover, carried on with the Orange Tories to set up Salic law in England, and usurp her Throne. She had unpleasant memories, too (says the writer of her Life), of his later arrogant attitude. Still, in 1866, she had, in response to his appeal, used her influence on his behalf with the German Emperor. She had even pressed Lord Derby and Lord Stanley to save Hanover from Prussian annexation, and though they refused, she had induced them to mediate on his behalf in order to secure for him a comfortable personal position as a dethroned monarch. His misfortunes roused her sympathies, and when he died, so far as the Queen was concerned, all feuds with the Hanoverian branch of the Royal Family were buried in his grave.

One of the great sorrows of the life of the Prince of Wales, as of Queen Victoria and every other member of her family, was the death, on the 14th of December, 1878, of the Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse—the most beloved and intimate of the daughters of Queen Victoria, and the favourite sister of the Prince. The reader will

have met her occasionally in these pages. The summer had been spent by the Grand Duchess with her children at Eastbourne, and the party had visited the Queen at Osborne before returning to Darmstadt. On the 8th of November one of her children was attacked by diphtheria. Herself a skilful nurse, with a thorough technical training, she recognised the disease and treated it. The medical men she had summoned could do no more than she had done, and the disease took its course. It attacked the entire household, including the Grand Duke. One of the children died. The Grand Duchess, though worn with grief and fatigue, seemed to have escaped. On the 7th of December she drove to the railway station to meet the Duchess of Edinburgh. On the 8th she was stricken with the malady. "It was supposed," says her biographer, "that she must have taken the infection when, one day, in her grief and despair, she had laid her head on her sick husband's pillow." She lingered until the morning of the 14th of December, when the end came. The grief of the Queen was equalled only by that of the Prince of Wales. As for the English people, they mourned for her with single-minded sincerity. She never lost her intense love for England, and this was testified by a request which she made to her husband, in anticipation of her death, that an English flag might be laid on her coffin, accompanying the wish with a modest expression of a hope that no one in the land of her adoption would take umbrage at her desire to be borne to her rest with the old English colours above her.

On the 28th of March, 1884, a loss of equal severity was suffered by the death

of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, a younger son of Queen Victoria, who had endeared himself to all by his charm of disposition, and had attained a high reputation among the people for his gifts of intellect and his interest in social questions. He had been married in 1882 to Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont, daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, known to fame as the "Red Prince"; and the wedding had been celebrated in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, amid the rejoicings of the nation and in the presence of an assemblage of English and foreign Royalties such as had not gathered together in England since the marriage of the Prince of Wales. He had been rather delicate from infancy, but this disadvantage was compensated for by an energy of mind which marked him out for distinction. He had spent the greater part of March at Cannes, and had taken part in the festivities at Nice. On returning to Cannes on the 27th of March he visited the Naval Club, and in ascending the stairs fell and hurt his right knee. The injury was attended to, and he was put to bed. No untoward results were looked for, and the Duke was in excellent spirits. During the night his doctor was aroused by his hard breathing, and found him dying.

The news reached England in the morning. To the Queen the blow was so severe that her attendants were seriously alarmed for her also. The Prince of Wales, whose deep affection for his young and promising brother was common knowledge, was at the Aintree race-course, near Liverpool, in the company of Lord Sefton and some personal friends. A telegram was handed to him,

which he read with amazement and broke down.

"Albany is dead," he murmured to Lord Sefton, and made his way from the grand stand to a private room. The rumour spread that the Duke was dead, but it was disbelieved until the racing was stopped. In the afternoon the Empress



Photo: Mauld & Fox.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

Eugénie visited the Queen at Windsor and passed several hours with her, and on the next day Her Majesty was able to visit her daughter-in-law, the widowed Duchess, then in a delicate state of health—and a more pathetic meeting than this it would be hard to imagine. The Prince of Wales went to Cannes and brought the remains to England, and they



QUEEN VICTORIA'S PRIVATE ROOM AT WINDSOR.

Photo: King.

were interred with great pomp in St. George's Chapel, the pall-bearers being six personal friends of the Duke who had been undergraduates with him at Christ Church, Oxford. The nation shared to the full the grief of the Royal Family. The Duke of Albany had impressed everyone who knew him by his gifts of mind and graces of character. He had desired to take Orders in the Church, but had been dissuaded from that course. On becoming a member of the House of Lords, he took so keen an interest in politics that the Queen became uneasy lest his speeches might be a cause of embarrassment. Finding this avenue closed, and vexed for want of an outlet for his abilities, he desired an appointment to an Austra-

lian Governorship—that of Victoria—vacant by the completion of Lord Normanby's term of office; but the Queen would not comply with that desire, holding that it was undesirable that a Prince of the Blood Royal should serve other than in the Army or the Navy, for which the Prince's health unfitted him. The Duke of Albany thereupon applied his mind to social and non-political questions, and made several public speeches remarkable for their thoughtfulness and polished diction. He was quite a scholarly young Prince, and his speeches exhibited a richness of thought and elegance of form which was most attractive. "He was never commonplace," says the author of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria,"

"and his merely formal utterances were usually marked by a distinction of style that well became a princely scholar. It is a curious fact that the shadow of early death seems to have cast itself in the form of presentiment over his young life 'The last time I saw him [the Duke of Albany] to speak to,' wrote a friend from Cannes, 30th March, to Mr. Frederick Myers, a biographer of the Duke, 'being two days before he died, he would talk to me about death, and said he would like a military funeral, and, in fact, I had great difficulty in getting him off this melancholy subject. Finally, I asked, "Why, sir, do you talk in this morose manner?"' As he was about to answer he was called away, and said, "I'll tell

you later." I never saw him to speak to again, but he finished his answer to another lady, and said, "For two nights now the Princess Alice has appeared to me in my dreams, and says she is quite happy, and that she wants me to come and join her. That is what makes me so thoughtful."'"

The crowning sorrow of the lives of the Prince and Princess of Wales was the untimely death, on the 14th of January, 1892, of their eldest son, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. This amiable and accomplished young Prince, whose birth in 1864 was noted in our second volume, had been educated at Cambridge, and was an officer of the 10th Hussars. He had spent his boyhood with his brother George,



PROMENADE DU MIDI, NICE, IN 1884.



H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE.

Photo: Russell.

the present Sovereign, as a cadet on the *Britannia* and under the care of Canon Dalton had made a tour of the British Empire on the *Bacchante*. On the completion of that voyage he was sent, in 1883, to Cambridge, his brother remaining in the Navy. At the University he made many friends, and his life was very much like that which his father had spent, though the discipline to which he was subjected was naturally less rigid. On coming of age in 1885, the Prince and Princess of Wales entertained a house-party at Sandringham which was the chief social event of the winter season outside London. Thereafter he visited India, and in various other ways was prepared for his future duties as Sovereign. On the 23rd of January, 1890, he took his seat in the House of Lords in the company of his father, the Princess of Wales being one of the spectators in the Peersesses' Gallery. Thereafter he spent much of his time with the Prince of Wales, whom he accompanied on various public occasions, and by whom he was thus initiated into the duties that would devolve upon him. Though he was not a robust man, and had not been free from illnesses in youth, there seemed to be every prospect that he would succeed to the Principality. The year 1892 was, however, an influenza year. Attendance at the funeral of a relation—Prince Victor of Hohenlohe—was followed by a slight *malaise*, and a chill caught at a shooting party a few days afterwards developed into influenza and then into pneumonia, to which the Prince succumbed. In the previous December it had been announced that there would be a marriage between him and his cousin, the Princess May, the only daughter of the Duke and Duchess

of Teck (the Princess Mary of Cambridge), and this circumstance gave an additional poignancy to the unexpected termination of his career. His death occurred within a few days of the announcement of the illness and universal sympathy was felt for the Prince and Princess in their crushing sorrow. The body of the Prince was brought from Sandringham to Windsor and interred in St. George's Chapel, a vast throng witnessing the military funeral—the body borne on a gun-carriage, the Prince of Wales following on foot, grey and sorrow stricken, but bravely keeping step to the strains of the funeral march.

The sad event changed the destinies of Prince George, who had been created Duke of York. In May, 1893, it was announced that he had become betrothed to the Princess May. The marriage was celebrated in London on the 6th of June. On the day before the Queen left Windsor for Buckingham Palace. "The Royal guests," says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," "were already arriving in London. Among them were the King and Queen of Denmark, the Czarevitch, representing Russia, and Prince and Princess Henry of Prussia as the representatives of the German Empire, the Crown Prince of Belgium, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and several of the Princes of India. The day of the wedding was a general holiday. The streets along which the procession passed were gay with flags, and, behind the line of troops that kept the way open, dense crowds thronged every available inch of space. The ceremony took place in the Chapel of St. James's Palace. The bridegroom was accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, and the bride by her father and mother, and ten brides-



In the afternoon the bride and bridegroom left the capital for Sandringham. They drove through the City to Liverpool Street Station, and all along the route were greeted by the cheers of enthusiastic crowds. In the evening London was ablaze with illuminations. Since the wedding of the Prince of Wales no Royal bridal had been the occasion of such an outburst of hearty, popular rejoicing."

The Duke and Duchess of York took up their residence at White Lodge, Richmond. There, on the 21st of June, 1894, Prince Edward of York, the present Prince of Wales, was born. The christening of the little Prince three weeks later was the occasion of a remarkable Royal gathering at White Lodge. The Queen arrived by train at

maids, all of them Princesses. The Queen was escorted to St. James's by the Life Guards and a detachment of Indian Cavalry. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and its close was announced to London by a salute of 101 guns fired from the Park.

Richmond from Windsor, and drove to the Lodge through the Park. For once she did not bring with her "Queen's weather." There was a steady down-pour of rain, but nevertheless cheering crowds lined the streets of Richmond and the road through the Park, and

gathered in a dense mass round the Lodge. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the ceremony, the golden font, used for the baptism of all the Queen's children, being placed in the drawing-room for the purpose, and the Queen herself held the little Prince in her arms. After the baptism the well-known photograph of "Four Generations of the Royal House" was taken in the portico, Her Majesty sitting with the child on her knee, while her son and grandson, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, stood beside her.

On the last day of June, a week after the birth of their grandson, the Prince and Princess of Wales had received an enthusiastic welcome in London. The occasion was the opening of the Tower Bridge, when the Prince acted for the Queen. A novel feature of the day was the return of the Prince and Princess by river from the City to Westminster. They made the journey in a brilliantly decorated steamer, followed by a flotilla of boats, while crowds lined the river banks. It was many years

since a Royal pageant had been seen on the broad highway of the Thames. The Court went to Osborne on the 19th of July, and the Queen's grandson, the Emperor William, was again a prominent figure during the festivities of the Cowes week. At the end of August the Queen



Photo: Russell.

H.M. QUEEN MARY
At the time of her Marriage.

travelled to Balmoral, where she spent the autumn.

A short time after the marriage of her daughter, the Duchess of Teck died. In the spring of 1897 she suffered a serious operation and made a good recovery,

in the character of the great Electress Sophia, whom the reader will remember having met in the first volume, the ball given in honour of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria by the Duchess of Devonshire. To the huge delight of the London popu-



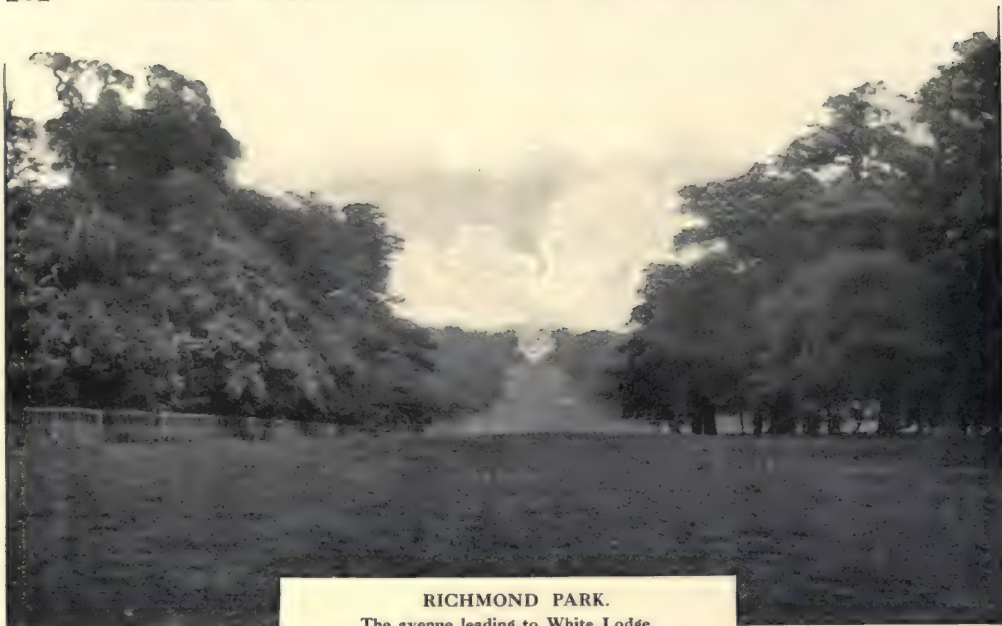
WHITE LODGE, RICHMOND, WHERE KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY
LIVED WHEN FIRST MARRIED.

thanks to her inextinguishable energy and buoyancy of spirit. In June she came up to London from the White Lodge at Richmond to participate in the Court and social gatherings in celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. At the famous garden party in the grounds of Buckingham Palace she was present in a bath-chair, which was ever surrounded by solicitous friends; and she attended,

lace, with whom throughout life she had been immensely popular, she appeared in the great Jubilee procession, receiving an ovation almost as tumultuous as that given to the Queen herself. Part of the autumn was spent in visits to country houses, and in October the Duchess returned to her home in the Thames Valley. On Sunday, the 24th of October, she attended morning service at the little



THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK (NOW GEORGE V.). THE PROCESSION AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.
Photo : Russell.



RICHMOND PARK.
The avenue leading to White Lodge.

church in Kingston Vale, her husband—who was himself in failing health—and also the Duchess of York (now Queen Mary) accompanying her. The Vicar closed his sermon by quoting Robert Browning's lines from the "Flight of the Duchess":—

And then, as 'mid the dark a gleam
Of yet another morning breaks,
And like the hand which ends a dream,
Death with the might of his sunbeam
Touches the flesh and the soul awakes.

The next day the Duchess was unable to keep an appointment. The evening was passed in the company of her daughter, who had just returned with the Duke of York from a visit to Ireland, and so much animation did Princess Mary display that her indisposition seemed to be but transient. On the next day, however, the illness took a decided turn for the worse. An operation had to be performed. The Duchess failed to rally, and

after some hours of semi-consciousness passed to her rest.

Thus ended the life of one of the most popular Princesses of the House of Brunswick. In her youth and in the prime of her life Princess Mary was a woman of remarkable beauty, and she was endowed with a vivacity and happiness of temperament which made her universally beloved. She was generous to a fault, and for many years she had spent her energies in philanthropic work of various kinds. Among the poor of London her name was a household word. In Richmond and its neighbourhood she was deeply beloved by all classes of the people, and especially by the poorest. She was devoted to her husband, the only son of Duke Alexander of Württemberg and the Comtesse de Hohenstein. He was created Prince Teck, which is one of the titles of the King of Württemberg. The Duke and Duchess had lived together in the



Photo: Russell.

QUEEN MARY AND HER MOTHER (THE LATE DUCHESS OF TECK).

most delightful harmony and simplicity, though their lives had never been free from financial anxieties. The death of the Duchess so profoundly affected the Duke that he did not long survive her. The Duchess was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the Prince of Wales represented the Queen, and Prince Frederick Henry of Prussia the German Emperor. His present Majesty accompanied his father, and the Princess of Wales and the Duchess of York were present in the Chapel. Seldom has an English Princess been mourned so sincerely; none will be held in more affectionate memory by the nation.

Mention has previously been made of the presence of the Prince of Wales at the marriage of his brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, to the only daughter of the Czar Alexander. The union was followed by some little friction at the English Court on a question of precedence. During the season of 1874 the Duchess ceased to attend Court ceremonies. An excuse was made for her on the plea of maternal preoccupations; but rumours gained currency that the Duchess was in difficulties with the Queen and the Princess of Wales because she had claimed precedence over the latter. Was she not the daughter of a great Emperor? Was not Alexandra the daughter of a mere King of a petty State? Yet if precedence were granted her over the wife of the Heir to the Throne, would not that be an admission that the Sovereign of England was inferior in status to the Emperors of Central and Northern Europe? Never had the wearers of the English Crown admitted any such claim. In this very awkward situation the Czar of Russia came to England on

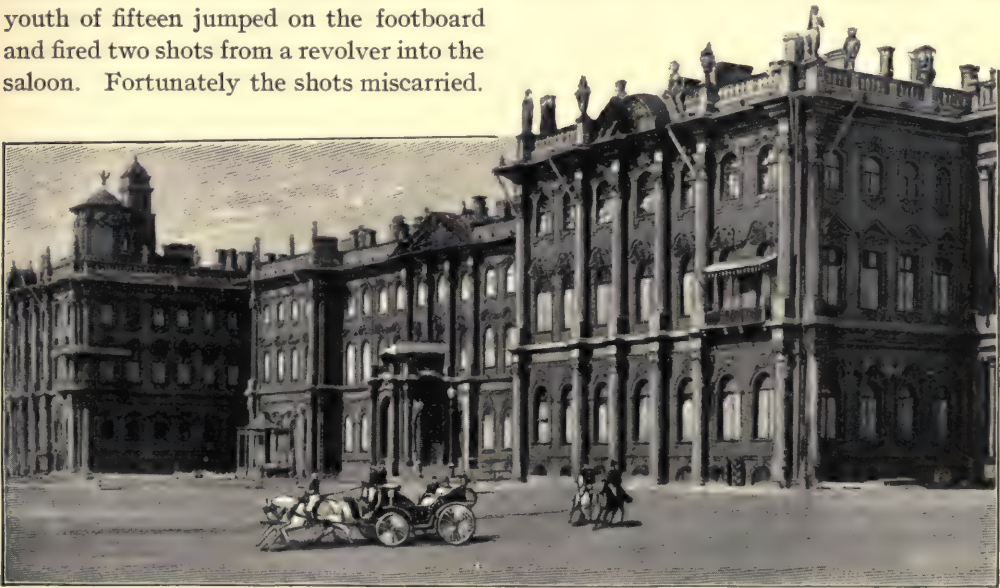
a visit to his daughter and his English relations. It was understood that the Queen would assent to any adjustment which did not give the wife of her second son precedence at Court over the wife of the Heir to the Throne. The Czar was received by the Queen at Windsor, and thereafter the Duchess of Edinburgh reappeared at Court next to the Princess of Wales; but she was described in the Court Circular henceforth as "Her Royal and Imperial Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh, Grand Duchess of Russia." The Czar remained in England during May, and went about a great deal, being everywhere received with great enthusiasm. His liberation of the Serfs had made him immensely popular with the English people. The dispute which was the occasion for his visit had rather unfortunate consequences upon the attitude of the English people towards the Grand Duchess. They took sides in the quarrel, and attributed to the Grand Duchess a certain haughtiness which was in reality foreign to her nature. Eight years after this incident—on the 13th of March, 1881—the Czar was assassinated while returning from a review of his troops outside St. Petersburg. A bomb was flung which exploded behind the Royal carriage and killed several soldiers of the Guard. The Czar leaped out of the carriage, and a second bomb landed at his feet, exploding and maiming him so frightfully that death quickly ensued. This terrible event prostrated the Duchess of Edinburgh, and created alarm in every Court in Europe. In England at the time there were Fenian outrages which induced the authorities to take special precautions for the safety of Royal personages. That

these were necessary in the case of the highly placed, even in Republics, was shown in July of the same year by the insensate attack already referred to on Mr. James A. Garfield, the President of the United States, who, after lingering until September, died of a pistol shot fired by an assassin named Guiteau. English Royalties have never been in danger in their own country from Nihilists or Anarchists or revolutionaries, of the modern type, but they incur unusual risks from madmen and people on the borderland of insanity. Queen Victoria also was twice attacked by persons of this kind, and the Prince of Wales, was not wholly free from their attentions.

No attempt was made upon his life until the 4th of April, 1900. On that day the Prince, with the Princess of Wales, was passing through Brussels on the way to Denmark. As the Royal train was leaving the Nord Station to connect with the Southern Railway in the late afternoon, a youth of fifteen jumped on the footboard and fired two shots from a revolver into the saloon. Fortunately the shots miscarried.

Before a third could be fired, the assailant was knocked down and secured.

The Prince and Princess and an equerry—Major-General Sir Stanley Clarke—were the only occupants of the carriage, and each was undisturbed by the incident. The train was stopped, and there was great confusion on the platform, a young man other than the assailant being taken by the people who were in the neighbourhood of the saloon as the person who had fired the shots and being roughly handled. The Prince of Wales having assured the stationmaster that no harm had been caused, the train left amid the cheers of the spectators of the incident. Meanwhile, the youth had been handed over to the police. It appeared that his name was Sipido, a tinsmith by trade, living in a poor quarter of the suburbs of Brussels. His pockets were said to be stuffed with Anarchist literature, and he appeared to have been associating with known Anarchists. In



THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG.

the course of his examination he said that he wanted to kill the Prince of Wales because His Royal Highness had caused thousands of men to be slain in South Africa. Investigation into his history showed clearly that he was a mental degenerate and not in full possession of his faculties. He had probably been instigated to crime by others. Anti-English feeling was running high in Belgium at the time because of the South African War, and he had apparently been the tool of men who exploited his half-crazy condition. Queen Victoria was then in Ireland, and her reception was all the more enthusiastic because of the peril through which her son and her daughter-in-law had passed. In the end Sipido was committed to permanent detention as a criminal lunatic, and it is not unlikely that this merciful treatment of him was due to the representations made by the Prince of Wales.

In his fiftieth year—1891—the Prince of Wales found himself entangled in a scandal which aroused the latent puritanism of the English people and brought down upon him the reproaches of a censorious Press. He was a guest at Tranby Croft, near Hull, the residence of a wealthy shipowner. Cards were played nightly after dinner, and Sir William Gordon-Cumming, Bart.—an officer in the Scots Guards, who had served with distinction in the Egyptian campaigns—was accused of cheating, which he denied. The game was baccarat. Rumours of the incident spread through society, and Sir William entered an action for slander. The trial came on early in June before the Lord Chief Justice—Lord Coleridge—in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court in London, and the Prince of Wales was

subpœnaed as a witness. Sir Edward Clarke, then Solicitor-General, appeared for Sir William Gordon-Cumming, with Mr. C. T. Gill as his junior, and Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, led for the defendants, with Mr. H. H. Asquith, now Prime Minister, and a number of junior counsel. The trial began on the 9th of June and lasted for seven days. The Court was crowded daily with people of fashion, and the trial excited universal interest. Sir William lost his case, for the jury returned a verdict for the defendants. They came to the conclusion that he had cheated, and Sir William suffered the social penalties of that offence. That verdict was in part due to the evidence which the Prince of Wales gave. A "statement of facts," drawn up by General Owen Williams and Lord Coventry, two of the Prince's fellow-guests, and signed by them, was put in during the trial, which told the entire story and the Prince of Wales' connection with the incidents. The charge was that Sir William Gordon-Cumming systematically placed a larger stake on the table after the card had been declared in his favour than he had originally laid down, and when the cards were against him he frequently withdrew a portion of his stake, thus defrauding the bank. Lord Coventry, one of the party, on being told this, consulted General Owen Williams, and the matter was placed more or less in the hands of Lord Coventry and General Owen Williams, who decided that it was imperative upon them to inform the Prince of Wales—being also a guest in the house—immediately of what had occurred. The party were asked whether they would be willing to keep silence with regard to what had taken place, on condition that Sir William

Gordon-Cumming signed an undertaking never again to play cards for the rest of his life. At the same time, they clearly pointed out that signature to this would be a distinct admission of guilt. Quite understanding, he signed the document, which was afterwards signed also by the gentlemen who were cognisant of the facts, and then given to the safe keeping of His Royal Highness. The Plaintiff's case was that he had not cheated, and that he had been coerced into signing the undertaking. The Prince, who had been accommodated with a seat on the Bench, was called into the witness box on the second day of the trial, and gave his evidence under oath. It appeared that, as banker, he had noticed the heavy winnings of Sir William, but he did not then think Sir William had cheated; but, when cross-examined by Sir Charles Russell, he expressed the view that in advising Sir William to sign the document he considered that he had been acting most leniently. Just as the Prince was leaving the witness box, a juryman put two vital questions: had the Prince himself seen Sir William cheating? and did he believe him to be guilty? The Prince replied that the

banker would not be in a position to see foul play, which would not be expected among friends; and as for the second question, Sir William's accusers



THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE
AT BRUSSELS.

(From a pen-and-ink sketch.)

were so many that he could not but believe them.

Feeling was strong, and Press and public were lavish of censure, so much so that through the medium of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury the Prince

of Wales referred to the incident, in the course of which he said :—

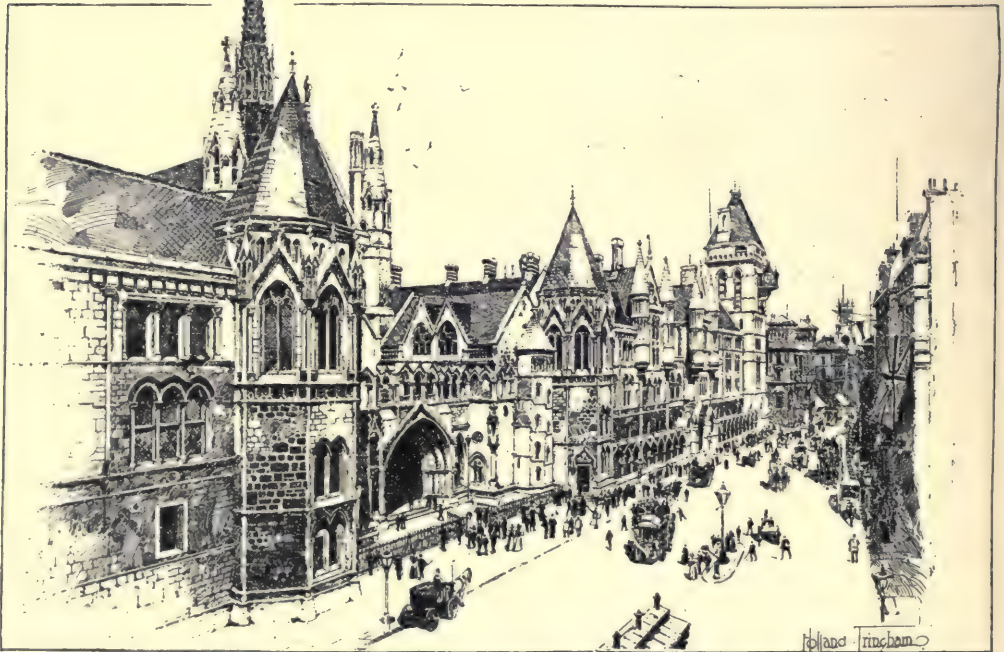
"They have a perfect right, I am well aware, in a free country like our own, to express their opinions, but I do not consider that they have a just right to jump at conclusions regarding myself without knowing the facts.

"I have a horror of gambling, and should always do my utmost to discourage others who have an inclination for it, as I consider that gambling, like intemperance, is one of the greatest curses which the country could be afflicted with."

A narrative such as this is necessarily a mixture of joy and sorrow. A few pages back we were writing of the death of Alexander II. ; the death of his successor, Alexander III., has now to be noted. In the autumn of 1894, he was known to be suffering from a

mortal illness. He went to the Crimea, and on the 1st of November died in the Livadia Palace. His body was brought in great state across the Russian Empire to St. Petersburg, and there it was met by the Sovereigns of Europe and their representatives. The Prince of Wales was at the interment on behalf of Queen Victoria, and it was observed that during his stay he was much in the company of the new Emperor Nicholas, the son of the sister of the Princess of Wales. As Czarevitch, Nicholas had been frequently in England on visits to his aunt and uncle and cousins. He bore a striking personal resemblance to the Duke of York, and one of his favourite occupations when in London was attendance in the Gallery of the House of Commons.

From accidents also, the Prince of Wales



THE ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE, LONDON.

was singularly free, having regard to the active life he led for many years and the multifarious journeys he made. Only one of any moment has to be recorded. In July, 1898, the Prince was on a visit to Waddesdon Manor, as the guest of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, and on the evening of the 18th he slipped on the

Queen. He spent the autumn of the year at Balmoral, and his recovery was complete, though the injury left a slight weakness and of necessity curtailed the Prince's more active outdoor pursuits.

A few other personal matters remain for mention. Throughout his life the Prince of Wales was no niggard. Not-



WADDESDON MANOR.

Photo: Payne, Aylesbury

staircase and sustained a serious injury to the knee-cap. There were fears of permanent lameness, for the Prince had become a heavy man and the mishap was severe. By the use of the X-rays, it was ascertained that the knee-cap was unbroken, and the injury yielded to treatment; but for several weeks the Prince was unable to walk without a crutch. Much of the time he spent in the Channel on board the Royal Yacht *Osborne*, where he was visited by the

withstanding that his income was slightly over a hundred thousand a year, he suffered from that lack of pence which sometimes afflicts the lives of men of private station. He had the defects of a man of generous qualities. He spent lavishly; he gave freely; he assisted private friends with an open-handedness subtly fascinating to the impecunious within the wide circle of his acquaintance. Apart from this good-heartedness in private life, the Prince's expenses were very

considerably enhanced by the fact that he discharged all the social duties of the Sovereign for many years after the death of his father, and that these entailed charges which would not in other circumstances have been borne by him. What the Prince spent in these directions the Queen saved, and as her personal expenses were small relatively to her revenues, she grew in wealth while the Heir to the Throne had increasing difficulty in making both ends meet; though unquestionably he could have "rubbed along" without unendurable hardship had he been close-fisted or inherited the financial aptitude of his father, who was bred in the hard school of German poverty. But the Prince was not so constituted. He would not have been himself if he had been; he erred never in meanness, but rather in liberality, and the consequence was that now and again his affairs required that sort of adjustment which can best be effected by an increase of revenue. Of his financial embarrassments in 1873 the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria" has written with a delicacy which commands admiration:—"The Prince of Wales, though very far from being a spendthrift, has never shrunk from incurring expenditure which, in his judgment, was necessary to maintain the dignity and prestige of the Crown in a manner worthy of the great nation whose Sovereignty is his heritage. But he has always refrained from appealing to Parliament for subsidies and conventions, either for himself or his family, other than those to which he is equitably and legally entitled by his official position in the State. This was all the more creditable to him, for two reasons. He was surrounded by persons, some of

whom did not scruple to take advantage of his generosity. Sandringham, moreover, had not turned out a remunerative property, and the Prince was therefore under strong temptation to give a favouring ear to unwise counsels on this delicate subject. These, however, he put aside with manly common sense, and his affairs were arranged on a businesslike basis, which would have met with the approval of his father, who was always of opinion that matters of the sort were best managed inside the family circle. The only public indication that was given of arrangements which must necessarily be spoken of with great reserve was afforded by Mr. Gladstone when, on the 21st of July, he introduced a Bill enabling the Queen to bequeath real property to the Prince of Wales, so that he could alienate it at will. The obvious advantage of such a measure was that it imparted a fresh elasticity to the financial resources of the Heir Apparent. For he had discovered a fact hitherto unrevealed in the history of his dynasty in England, namely, that though the Sovereign could bequeath to the Heir Apparent alienable personality such as hard cash, land or real property so bequeathed became, when vested in his person on ascending the Throne, the property of the State, and therefore inalienable. In fact, supposing the Queen had left Balmoral, an estate which she and her husband bought out of their private purse, to her eldest son, then, though it had been her own private property, it must become public property whenever the Prince of Wales became King. The state of the law on the subject was inequitable and inconvenient. For if the Queen wished to aid her eldest son in meeting



H.M. QUEEN ALEXANDRA
The Princess Royal and Princess Victoria

Photo: Russell.

expenses which he was every day incurring on her behalf she had either to sell her private estates, endeared to her by a thousand tender family associations, or appeal to Parliament for a grant, a course which was as objectionable to her

and the honest purposes of the Prince, which formed the motives of the Bill, were snappishly and churlishly misrepresented. The Bill, however, passed, and an incident which at one time threatened to be unpleasant for the Queen and her children was discreetly closed."



Photo: Russell.

H.M. THE QUEEN OF NORWAY (PRINCESS MAUD OF ENGLAND), WITH PRINCE OLAF, HER SON.

as to the Prince. On the other hand, if these private estates, when inherited by the Prince at her death, could be treated as private property, the Heir Apparent could easily obtain any additional subsidies he might need, by mortgaging his expectations. Notwithstanding, the generous intentions of the Queen

Two of the daughters of the Prince and Princess of Wales married in the lifetime of Queen Victoria, and the third, Princess Victoria, is, at the time of writing, still a spinster. The elder daughter, Princess Louise, married the Duke of Fife in 1889; and the second daughter, Princess Maud, seven years later married Prince Charles of Denmark, now King of Norway. The first marriage was of dynastic importance, for there was a possibility that Princess Louise might reach the Throne. Her alliance with a British subject of high station rather than with a petty princeling of a German house was, from this point of view felt to be an advantage, and the marriage was popular with the nation, notwithstanding the disparity of age between the contracting parties. The Earl of Fife—he was elevated to the dukedom on his mar-

riage—was eight years younger than the Prince of Wales, and was the son of the fifth Earl, whom he succeeded in 1879. He had sat in the House of Commons for five years, as a Liberal, for a Scotch constituency, and he was one of the largest landowners in Scotland. The marriage raised the whole

question of "secondary grants" to the Royal Family, and when Mr. W. H. Smith, then leader of the House of Commons, gave notice of a motion to make provision for the Princess he found himself in a difficulty. A series of animated discussions ensued; but while the matter was being considered a compromise, suggested by Sir Reginald Welby on behalf of the Royal Family, in private negotiation with Mr. Gladstone, was—much to the amazement of the Opposition—agreed to. Thus the allowance of the Prince of Wales was increased by £30,000 a year, on condition that he undertook to make all future provision himself for his children.

The marriage of the Princess Louise of Wales took place on the 27th of July, 1889, in the chapel of Buckingham Palace—an old conservatory converted by the Prince Consort into a place of private worship. The ceremony was attended by the Royal Family and all their friends and chief servants, whether of the State or the Household—though otherwise it was conducted with great privacy and simplicity. The bride and bridegroom drove away in the sunshine through the bright streets and lanes to their pretty suburban home at Sheen, where it was announced the lady would keep no State household. Her husband was elevated to the Dukedom of Fife, whereby the Princess was promoted to a privileged rank. As

the daughter of the Prince of Wales she had no other civil status than that of any other young Englishwoman. As Duchess of Fife she ceased to be a commoner, entered the charmed circle of the peerage, and by



Photo: Russell.

H.M. THE KING OF NORWAY.

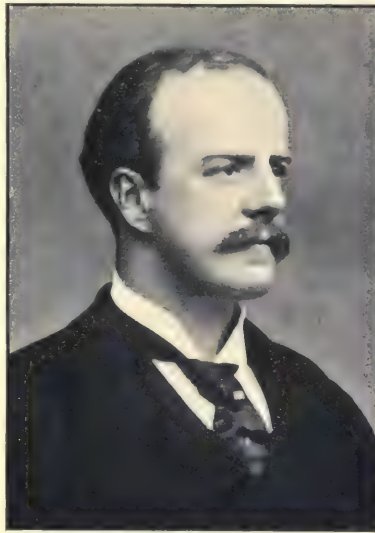
the Act passed in the reign of Henry VI. acquired the right, if accused of crime, of being tried by a jury of peers of the realm. Unless the daughters of English Royal Princes and Princesses marry English peers or are created peeresses in their own right, they remain simple commoners, with courtesy titles.

In the preceding year the Prince and Princess of Wales had celebrated their silver wedding, but the event was clouded by the death of the aged Emperor William I. of Prussia. Public rejoicings were cancelled, but Court mourning was suspended for the day—the 10th of March. The Prince and Princess were at Marlborough House for the occasion, and there was a family dinner party in the evening which was attended by Queen Victoria. In the morning the Prince and his family attended at the chapel at Whitehall, the sermon being preached by the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Magee (afterwards Archbishop of York). Writing to a clerical friend the following day, from the Athenæum Club, Dr. Magee asked :—

“Did you ever in your eminently respectable life dance on the tight rope? And did you ever do so in the presence of Royalty? No? Then I have beaten you. For I have this day performed that exceedingly difficult feat, and dead beat do I feel after it. I suppose you saw (for it was announced in all the papers) that H.R.H. was to worship at Whitehall with all his family, to keep his silver wedding, and that the Bishop of Peterborough was to preach. Not an easy thing to do, under any circumstances, to preach to Royalty in a pew opposite you, and also to a large middle-class congregation on a special occasion. But only think of having to

add to this a special allusion to the late Emperor's death, and the present Emperor's condition, and all this within the space of forty minutes, the utmost length that it is considered good taste to inflict on H.R.H. Add to this that he specially requested an offertory for the Gordon Boys' Home, and of course implied some reference in the sermon to this. So that I had, within forty minutes, to preach a charity sermon, a wedding sermon, and a funeral one. Match me that if you can for difficulty.”

Presents were lavished upon the illustrious couple from every Court in Europe, as well as from their personal friends in their own country and in the Colonies. The Prince's present to his wife was a cross of diamonds and rubies. London



THE DUKE OF FIFE.

was illuminated in the evening in honour of the occasion, and after the dinner at Marlborough House Queen Victoria drove through the West End to see the lights and the crowds. The year was a sad one for the Royal Family, for the Emperor Frederick succeeded to the Throne of his father a man doomed to early death. The short months of his reign—from the 9th of March to the 15th of June—were embittered by political intrigue and disputes among his doctors about the exact character of his malady, a cancerous condition of the throat. The Empress—the elder daughter of Queen Victoria—had

not been well received by the German people, and the Crown Prince and Princess were too liberal in political sentiment to be acceptable to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, who stirred up press hostility to English influence at the Court

of threatening resignation. In this combination of painful circumstances, Queen Victoria visited Berlin in April and spent a few days with her daughter and her dying son-in-law; and Her Majesty had a long interview with Prince Bismarck,



Photo: Ralph, Dersingham.

THE DINING-ROOM AT MARLBOROUGH HOUSE.

at Berlin. There was friction before the Emperor William died, and there was more while the new Emperor lay a-dying. There were differences also between the new Sovereign and his Chancellor over a project of marriage between Prince Alexander of Battenberg and the Emperor's daughter, the Princess Victoria, the Imperial family desiring this union and the Chancellor opposing it to the point

which was believed to have lessened the discord. The Battenberg marriage was arranged, and the Queen took her last farewell of the dying man. On the 15th of June came the news of his death. During his brief reign he had given promise of great skill in guiding the destinies of Germany along the path of social progress. No foreign prince connected with the Royal Family was ever so popular in



H.I.M. THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

England, especially among scholars, artists, and men of letters. His death rendered the festivities that had been planned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's coronation on the 28th of June impossible. Her Majesty was represented at the funeral by the Prince of Wales. With the accession of William II. a new era opened in Anglo-German relations.

Many personal and family occurrences have necessarily been omitted from this record; but its incompleteness would indeed be marked if notice were not taken of the life and death of Prince Christian Victor, son of the third daughter of Queen Victoria by her marriage with Prince Frederick of Schleswig - Holstein. He was born in 1867 at Windsor Castle, and educated at Wellington College and at Oxford. Thereafter he joined the King's Royal Rifles—the famous 60th, with whom he saw a good deal of service in India with the Black Mountain and Miranzai Expeditions of 1891. He was a capital soldier, a fine sportsman, a good cricketer, and the men of his regiment would do anything for him. He shared in the Scott Ashanti Expedition of 1895, and suffered a good deal of fever, which proved fatal to his relation, Prince Henry of Battenberg. At the age of twenty-nine he was made Brevet Major in recognition of his services in Ashanti and India. In 1898 he was in Egypt, and

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was attached to Captain Colin Campbell as "Staff Officer for Gunboats" during the advance of the flotilla up the Nile, sharing in the battle of Omdurman so far as the gunboats were able to co-operate with the Sirdar's land forces. On the outbreak of the war in South Africa he was given a post on the staff, and shared Buller's fortunes in Natal, being present at Colenso. "I was with Clery and Buller," he wrote home, "and got into an awfully hot corner near the guns; most people were killed or hit; but somehow, although the bullets were ploughing the ground up all round, neither I nor my pony was touched; a bit of shell grazed my pony's neck, and a bullet passed over my wallets, but these were the nearest." Joining Lord Roberts in the march through the Republics, he reached Pretoria in safety, and did duty there until October, 1900, when he was thinking of getting home. On the 8th of that month he was struck down with enteric, and on the 29th he died. Throughout his active soldierly career, from the time of his participation in those arduous marches on the health-destroying West Coast of Africa, which proved fatal to so many of our men in the Ashanti Expedition,

up to the time of his appointment to the Headquarters Staff in South Africa, and his subsequent death, this gallant and unostentatious young Prince dis-

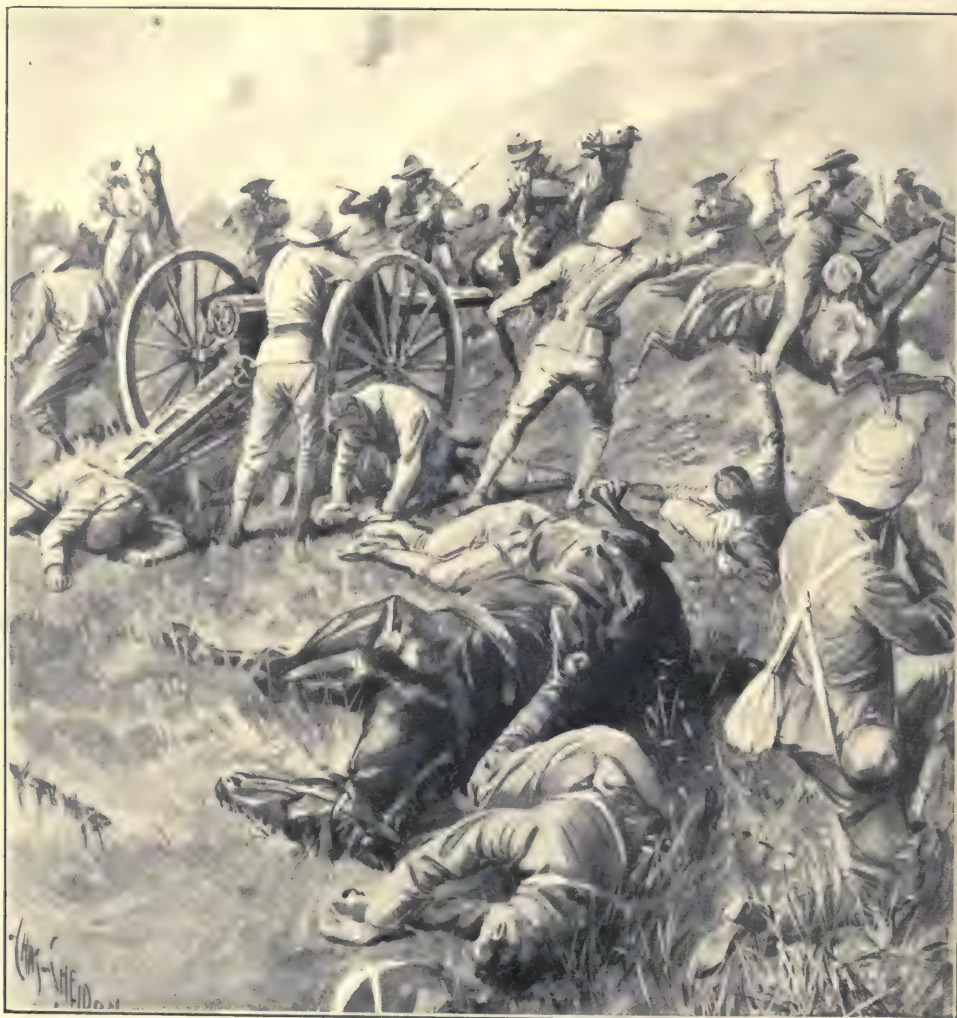


Photo: Bassano.

THE LATE PRINCE CHRISTIAN VICTOR.

played all the finest qualities of a British officer. His death was not only a loss to the Army that admired and respected him, but perhaps the most grievous blow of many the war inflicted on Queen Victoria. It was cruel to think that the Prince who had endured the hardships and risks of the war through its most strenuous period, and had seen

the fruits of the first part of the conflict in the annexation of the South African Republics, should not have been spared to reach England and to receive, with his fellow-soldiers, the reward of his valour. On the same day that the Prince died the returning City Imperial Volunteers had reached London from South Africa, and were



AT COLENZO: "AN AWFULLY HOT CORNER NEAR THE GUNS."

entertained by the Lord Mayor and the citizens. In the evening the Queen sent a message to the Lord Mayor from Balmoral congratulating the City on the occasion, and making a sympathetic allusion to the Volunteers who had not returned. "I alas,"

she telegraphed, "myself have to grieve for the loss of a dear and most gallant grandson, who, like so many of your companions, has served and died for his Queen and country." The body of this soldier-Prince lies in the cemetery at Pretoria. There



THE RETURN OF THE C.I.V.: SCENE IN THE STRAND.

Photo: Gregory & Co.

is a statue of him, set up at the cost of personal friends at the bottom of the Hundred Steps at the wall of Windsor Castle, just at the foot of the hill ; and the Queen placed an elaborate monument of him in St. George's Chapel, close to that

of the Prince Imperial, whose death in Zululand will be noted in a later chapter dealing with affairs in South Africa from the time of the Zulu war, in which he fell, to the incorporation of the Boer Republics with Cape Colony.



Photo: Stanley Bradshaw.
VIEW OF PRETORIA, SHOWING THE CEMETERY (Extreme Right).

CHAPTER XII

THE TWO JUBILEES: DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA

Preparing for the 1887 Jubilee—Albert Edward's Influence—An Object Lesson in Imperialism—Queen Victoria's Public Activities—Visit to Liverpool—The Indian and Colonial Visitors at Windsor—Opening of the People's Palace—The State Procession to Westminster Abbey—Incidents of the Service—Celebrations Throughout the Empire—Laying the Foundation-Stone of the Imperial Institute—Preparations for the Diamond Jubilee—Some of the Charitable Commemoration Schemes—Planning the Gorgeous State Procession—Multitudes Flock to London—At St. Paul's Cathedral—An Open-air Service—An Overwhelming Parade of Power and Might—The Progress Through London—Some Other Incidents of the Celebration—Queen Victoria Visits Dublin—Growing Anxieties in Africa—Christmas at Osborne—The Dawn of a New Century—The Queen Breaks Down—A Sorrowful Bulletin—Royal Relations Summoned—"Slowly Sinking"—Death of Queen Victoria.

THOUGH the Prince of Wales appeared to the nation to be a wholly subsidiary figure in the celebrations of the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, it is more than probable that his was the mind that gave the festivities their Imperial character. The salient fact of the Jubilee of 1887 was that, for the first time in the story of our Empire, representatives of India and the Colonies figured as official participants in an act of State discharged by the Sovereign in the presence of her subjects. A precedent had been set which has since been followed. It was not a wonderful thing that a Sovereign should have reigned for fifty years. Many monarchs have done that—in England, Henry III., Edward III., and George III. Nor was it very remarkable that a woman of the faith and piety of Queen Victoria should have desired to go to Westminster Abbey, the place of coronation and the place of burial of so many of her predecessors, and there in public offer her humble thanks to God for having given her length of days and strength still to discharge the onerous duties of

her station. That her subjects also should have associated themselves with her in this desire, and converted the occasion into a demonstration of loyalty to the Throne and affection for her personally, was the least notable circumstance of the Jubilee, having regard to the glories of her reign, her abilities and mental powers, the virtues and beauty of her character. All these elements in the celebration of 1887 were natural, and not in themselves unusual or likely to excite surprise. What was novel and extraordinary about them—what showed that there was an intellect at work somewhere capable of evolving a new political idea and of using the Jubilee as a starting-point for a new conception of the homogeneity of the British Empire—was that the celebrations were of set purpose made Imperial, not merely national, by the inclusion in them of representatives of the oversea dominions of the Crown. In the pageantry of the Coronation of Queen Victoria there were none. In her Jubilee there were many. In the Diamond Jubilee, ten years later, no part of her world-wide territories was unrepresented. Whose was the brain

that conceived this striking departure? Whether the credit for it belongs to Edward VII. or not, there is sufficient evidence to show that it had his enthusiastic approval. He was an Imperialist long before Imperialism became fashionable; long before politicians, engrossed in party warfare and personal rivalries, found it profitable to "think Imperially." The Colonial Exhibition of 1886 was his personal project. His speeches on that enterprise sound an Imperial note which is not to be found in contemporary politics. There is in them the germ of all that thinking about the unity of the British Empire which became so prominent a factor in the life of this country and of the self-governing daughter States during his reign. From his work for that Exhibition there arose in his mind the idea of celebrating the Jubilee of the Sovereign by creating an Imperial Institute devoted exclusively to the advancement of Indian and Colonial interests. From this it was but a short step to official participation of representatives of India and the Colonies in the Jubilee itself.

It was during the year 1886—on the 20th of June—that Queen Victoria entered upon the fiftieth year of her reign. In strictness the event should then have been recognised. But Her Majesty decided that the celebrations should be deferred until the fiftieth year was ended. In the meantime, however, she mixed with the people with a frequency to which they had not been accustomed for a quarter of a century. It was very desirable that she should do so, for the country was suffering from one of those recurrent cycles of bad trade. There was much distress in London and

other great cities, while the political world was convulsed by the Home Rule question and distracted by party schisms and personal intrigues. Something was needed to divert the mind of the people from the futile wrangles of Parliament and the contemplation of their own miseries—a contemplation which had produced a dangerous spirit, as was shown on the 8th of February by a mob of out-of-works and vagabonds who met in Trafalgar Square to air their wrongs, broke through the police cordon, and swept along Pall Mall and Piccadilly, smashing windows and rifling the shops. It was an inauspicious opening of the fiftieth year of the reign, which also closed badly, the great number of unemployed being utilised by Socialist agitators as a menace to the security of property in the capital. But during the intervening season affairs went gaily in London, and the Court was unusually active. The Queen opened the Colonial Exhibition in person, and there was a large concourse of Royalties. Visitors from overseas were numerous, and there was much social life. Her Majesty paid several visits to the Exhibition, and at night the grounds were the resort of the wealth and fashion of London. The writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria" thus epitomises the other doings of the Court: "On the 11th of May Her Majesty visited Liverpool to open the International Exhibition in that city. On the 13th she visited the Seamen's Orphanage, and afterwards sailed down the Mersey, contrasting the scene with that on which she gazed when, in 1851, she made a similar excursion with the Prince Consort. Then the Queen was the guest of Lord Sefton; on this occasion she was



THE 1887 JUBILEE: THE PROCESSION ON THE WAY TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
(From the Original Painting by R. Dudley, in the possession of Mrs. F. E. Colman, Nork Park, Epsom.)
By permission of J. & J. Colman, Ltd.

the guest of the city of Liverpool, the Municipality having fitted up Newsham House for her accommodation. On the 15th she returned to Windsor, the effect of her visit having been to increase vastly her popularity in the North of England. On the 26th of May the Court proceeded to Balmoral. During the absence of the Court in Scotland the Prince and Princess of Wales stimulated the gaiety of the London Season. It was remarkable for the prevalence of Sunday reunions, the patronage of which by the Heir Apparent soon made them fashionable even among serious church-going people. On the 30th of June the Queen opened the Royal Holloway College for Women at Egham, an institution for the higher education of women. On the 2nd of July Her Majesty reviewed 10,000 troops at Aldershot, and on the 5th entertained a large number of the Indian and Colonial visitors at Windsor. She attended the brilliant garden-party given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House on the 10th; and on the 20th, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Osborne, where she was soon absorbed in the business attendant on a change of Ministry. On the 17th of August Her Majesty left Osborne for Edinburgh, where, on the 18th, she visited the International Exhibition. On the 20th the Queen went to Balmoral, where she remained till the 4th of November. On the 5th she visited the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace, and inspected the Hospital for Incurables at Edinburgh, returning to Windsor on the 6th. On the 22nd Her Majesty received at Windsor, with much ceremony, their Imperial Highnesses the Prince and Prin-

cess Komatsu of Japan, and on the 29th the Court removed to Osborne."

In the Speech from the Throne in 1887 Queen Victoria was under the unhappy necessity of opening the year of the Jubilee celebrations by foreshadowing yet another Coercion Bill for Ireland—a circumstance which may have stimulated the loyalty of the Irish landowners, but angered and disheartened the mass of the Irish people. The early months of the year were overshadowed by furious wrangles in Parliament, the publication of the *Times* articles containing the Pigott forgeries, and a recrudescence of agrarian disorder in Ireland. The Jubilee celebrations themselves came as an agreeable interruption to these deplorable episodes. Though the Service of Thanksgiving was not until the 21st of June, the Season opened early and was of unusual brilliance. On the 23rd of March the Queen arrived in Birmingham to open the new Law Courts, in a noble thorough-fare created by the slum-clearing energies of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his fellow reformers on the Town Council. Birmingham still remained Radical, but it had purged itself of its Republicanism, and the city gave Her Majesty an enthusiastic and spontaneous reception. After a short visit to Cannes the Queen returned to Windsor. Says the writer already quoted:

"On the 4th of May she received at the Castle the representatives of the Colonial Governments, who presented her with addresses congratulating her on having witnessed during her reign her Colonial subjects increase from fewer than 2,000,000 to upwards of 9,000,000 souls, her Indian subjects from 96,000,000 to 254,000,000, and her subjects in minor dependencies

from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. On the 9th Her Majesty held a court at Buckingham Palace, at which the Maharajah and Maharanee of Kutch Behar and the Maharajah Sir Pertab Sing were presented to her. On the 10th she held a Drawing Room, and afterwards visited a private performance of the feats of the American cowboys, and Indians, and prairie-hunters at the 'Wild West' Show at Earl's Court. On the 14th she opened the People's Palace at Whitechapel, an institution which had grown out of a suggestion in Mr. Walter Besant's romance of 'All Sorts and Conditions of Men.' The route of the procession from Paddington was seven miles long, and it was thronged with people who gave the Queen as warm a welcome as she had received in Birmingham. On her return Her Majesty visited the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House. This was a remarkable event, for Her Majesty had not entered the Municipal

Palace since she had visited it with her mother two years before her accession. Her Majesty partook of tea and strawberries with her Civic hosts, with whom she spent fully half-an-hour, charming the company with her affability. On the 20th the Court removed to Balmoral, where the Queen found her mountain retreat covered with snow. On the 17th of June the Court returned to Windsor, and on the 18th Her Majesty received at the Castle the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, and several Indian princes and deputations from Native States."

The historic 21st of June, when the Queen drove in State from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey and there joined in a national service of thanksgiving, brought to London an immense concourse from the provinces. Thousands took up positions overnight along the route. From the roadways to the roofs a multitude awaited the arrival of



THE PEOPLE'S PALACE IN WHITECHAPEL.

the Sovereign. Streets and houses were gaily decorated, and further colour was given to the scene by the soldiers who lined the route. It was "Queen's weather," and no untoward incident marred the day. An immense crowd gathered before Buckingham Palace, where, within the courtyard, the procession was marshalled. It started at eleven o'clock, amid an expectant silence. At the sight of Her Majesty the pent-up feelings of the multitude were expressed by such tumultuous and joyful shouting that Her Majesty could not restrain her emotion. With tremulous face, smiling amid her tears, she bowed her acknowledgments of this tremendous ovation. The fanfares of the trumpeters, the music of the military bands were lost in the volleys of cheers. In the carriage with her were the Princess of Wales and the Queen's eldest daughter, the wife of the German Crown Prince, who rode in the procession of Princes with the Prince of Wales. Says the writer previously quoted:—

"The first part of the procession consisted of carriages in which were seated the sumptuously apparelled Indian Princes, in robes of cloth of gold, and with turbans blazing with diamonds and precious gems, who had come from the Far East to celebrate the Jubilee of their Empress. Following them came carriages with the Duchess of Teck, the Persian and Siamese guests of the Queen, the Queen of Hawaii, the Kings of Saxony, Belgium, and Greece, and the Austrian Crown Prince. Life Guards followed, and behind them came two mounted lackeys of the Court. To them succeeded escorts of Hussars and Life Guards, followed by outriders in scarlet. In the first part of the procession were eleven carriages. Of these, five con-

veyed the Ladies-in-Waiting and the Great Officers of the Household. The sixth conveyed the Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, Princess Margaret of Prussia, and Prince Alfred of Edinburgh. In the seventh carriage were the Princesses Victoria and Sophie of Prussia, Princess Louis of Battenberg, and Princess Irene of Hesse. The eighth conveyed the Princesses Maud, Victoria, and Louise of Wales. In the ninth were the Duchess of Connaught and Duchess of Albany. In the tenth were the Duchess of Edinburgh, Princess Beatrice, Princess Louise, and Princess Christian. Between the eleventh carriage and the Queen's rode the brilliant procession of Princes, whose appearance all along the route gave the signal for an outbreak of cheering. In the first rank rode the Queen's grandsons—Prince Albert Victor and Prince William of Prussia being among the most conspicuous. Following them came the Queen's sons-in-law, the German Crown Prince, Prince Christian, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and Prince Henry of Battenberg. The Marquis of Lorne had started with the procession, but about 300 yards from the Palace his horse took fright and threw him, whereupon he returned on foot, and, borrowing a charger from an Artillery officer, rode alone to the Abbey by way of Birdcage Walk. Of this group, the central figure was that of the German Crown Prince, whose white uniform and plumed silver helmet attracted general admiration. Covered with medals and decorations, most of which he had won by his prowess in battle, he sat his charger as proudly as a medieval knight, in whom the spirit of old-world German chivalry lived again. His fair, frank face became radiant with delight when he found that peal after peal of applause greeted him

whenever he appeared. Partly owing to his picturesque figure, partly to his manly and heroic character, and partly, no doubt, to honest sympathy with his sufferings under the disease that had suddenly smitten him in the very prime of life, the German Crown Prince received an ovation more effusive even than that bestowed on the ever-popular Prince of Wales, and almost equal to that which greeted the Queen herself. After her sons-in-law came her sons, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the Duke of Connaught. They, too, were hailed with cheering that was prolonged, and that deepened in volume till Her Majesty's carriage passed. A gorgeous cavalcade of Indians brought the splendid procession to a close. Along the route, from the Palace, up Constitution Hill, round Hyde Park Corner, on through Piccadilly, down Waterloo Place, past Trafalgar Square, along Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, every house was glowing with many-tinted draperies, with bunting, and with floral decorations, and every balcony and window was crowded with bright and happy faces framed in festoons of roses and laurel."

Within the wondrous Abbey there were gathered the King and Queen of the Belgians, the King of Denmark, the King of Greece, several Crown Princes and Princesses, Princes and Princesses of every Court in Europe, Indian Chiefs, Representatives of the Colonies, Heads of the Universities, Ministers, Diplomats, high officers of the Army and Navy and auxiliary forces, Lords-Lieutenant, High Sheriffs, Officers of the Household, and other persons of note. Dress uniform and decorations were worn, and the scene was one of impressive splendour. Silver trumpets announced the arrival of the Royal

procession at the entrance to the Abbey, where it was met by the Primate, the Dean of Westminster (the late Dr. Bradley), the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and the six residentiary Canons of Westminster. Followed by the Heralds and officers of the Court, the clergy led the Royal procession up the aisle. Says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria":—

"The Queen, clad in black, but with a bonnet of white Spanish lace glittering with diamonds, and wearing the Orders of the Garter and Star of India, entered, escorted by the Lord Chamberlain, as the organ pealed forth the strains of the march from Handel's 'Occasional Oratorio.' The solemnity of the spectacle and the reflection that the Queen-Empress, in the building where lie the ashes of so many of her predecessors, is about to give thanks to God for the crowning triumph of her life repress all manifestations of feeling. Reverently does Her Majesty take her place on the Royal daïs, and, when the Princes and Princesses in her train arrange themselves, the picture is one of imposing magnificence. Surrounding this shining group of Princes a vast throng, representing the genius, the rank, the wealth, and the chivalry of Britain, filled every nook of the sacred fane. Towering high above all his peers the Imperial form of the German Crown Prince, clad in the white uniform of the Cuirassiers, stood forth as the most majestic figure in that magnificent pageant.

"The Thanksgiving Service was brief and simple. The Primate and the Dean of Westminster officiated, and the music was largely selected from the compositions of the Prince Consort. Prayers and re-

sponses invoking a blessing on the Queen were intoned. The Prince Consort's *Te Deum* was given. Three special prayers were offered up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, after which the people's prayer—*Exaudiat te Dominus*—was intoned. The lesson (1 Pet. ii. 6–18) was next read by the Dean, and Dr. Bridge's Jubilee anthem, 'Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on the throne to be king for the Lord thy God,' a piece in which the theme of the National Anthem is suggested, was sung. Two simple prayers were then offered up, and the ceremony, impressive from the grandeur of the surroundings, and yet thrilling and pathetic by reason of its devotional earnestness and simplicity, ended with the Benediction. Here the Queen, who was several times overcome with emotion, is seen by the spectators to make a movement as if she would rise from her seat over the sacred Coronation Stone of Scone and kneel on the *prie-dieu* in front of her. But she cannot reach so far, and she sinks back into her place, veiling her bowed face with her hands.

She then glances round, and her eyes fill with tears when they rest on her sons and her daughters, and her sons-in-law and their children. The pent-up feeling of that dazzling group of Princes and Princesses can no longer be restrained, and the solemn pageant of State suddenly assumes the aspect of a family festival. The Prince of Wales bends forward and kisses the Queen's hand, but Her Majesty raises his face and salutes him affectionately on the cheek. The German Crown Prince pays his homage with chivalrous grace and stately courtesy, and the Grand Duke of Hesse follows him. But the emotion of the moment is too strong for Court

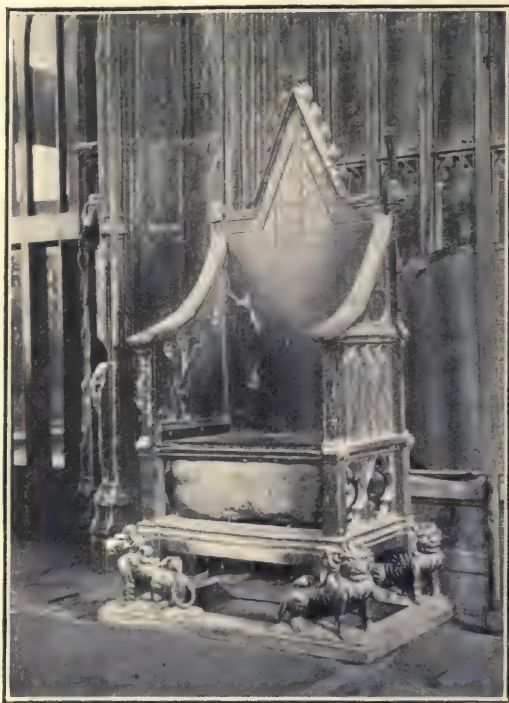


Photo: York & Son.

THE CORONATION CHAIR.

ceremonial. The Queen with an impulsive gesture discards the Lord Chamberlain's etiquette, and embraces the Princes and Princesses of her house with honest and unreserved motherly affection. Then she turns to the German Crown Prince with a loving smile, and as he comes forward she kisses him warmly on the cheek. The Grand Duke of Hesse is also saluted, and Her Majesty, making a profound bow to her Foreign guests, which



AN INCIDENT OF THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY SERVICE, 1887.

they return, quits the scene as the 'March of the Priests' in *Athalie* peals forth from the organ. The procession was now formed again, and as the Sovereign returned to Buckingham Palace it was noticed that the reception which was given to her was even more enthusiastic than that which greeted her on her way to the Abbey. It is, perhaps, only once in a generation that it falls to the lot of a monarch to be hailed in the streets of her capital with such passionate demonstrations of loyalty, and the Queen seemed to be filled with the emotion of the hour."

London gave itself over at night to the spectacle of the illuminations, and the people in their millions passed through the chief thoroughfares and before Buckingham Palace, where, in the afternoon, the Queen reviewed the five hundred seamen who had formed her guard of honour, and in the evening gave a banquet at which no fewer than sixty-four Royal personages were seated. In the provinces and in the Colonies the Jubilee was celebrated not less heartily and joyfully than in London. In Ireland only was there a discordant note, for there were riotous assemblies in Dublin and in Cork. Not the least of the celebrations in London was an entertainment of 30,000 children in Hyde Park by Mr. Edward Lawson (now Lord Burnham), the proprietor-editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, who thus cleverly impressed the then rising generation of the poorer classes in London with an indelible memory of the great Victoria. On the 24th of June Her Majesty gave an evening party at Buckingham Palace, and a few days later a Garden Party at which several thousands were present. On the 2nd of July she reviewed the volunteers of London in Hyde Park. In all these

gatherings the Prince and Princess of Wales figured, but the Queen was ever the dominant personality, and it was upon her that the thoughts of the nation were centred. On the 4th of July the Prince was brought into special prominence by Her Majesty's attendance at South Kensington to lay the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute. It was an act that directed the attention of the Empire to the creator of the project, and may be taken as signifying that there now devolved upon him the task of preparing for that unification of Imperial interests which Her Majesty could scarcely expect to see accomplished in the remainder of her days. The Institute was to be the visible emblem of unity and focus the thoughts of the British peoples on the ideal which the Prince of Wales had set before them. Says the writer from whom we before quoted:—

"It was to be a rallying-point for all Colonial movements, a centre of instruction for those who desire information as to Colonial trade and Colonial resources. In a word, what the Queen 'inaugurated' on the 4th of July, at Kensington, as the culminating function of her Jubilee, was a vast and ubiquitous Intelligence Department for her far-stretching dominions. The decoration of the building in which the ceremony took place was chiefly floral, and, indeed, the scene suggested sylvan freshness and beauty. Eleven thousand people were seated in the chief pavilion.

When the Queen entered, preceded by the officers of her household and escorted by her family, she took her seat on the draped dais, and found herself again surrounded by a majestic throng of Kings and Princes. The Prince of Wales read

aloud to Her Majesty the address of the organising committee of the Institute, describing its aims and its prospects. The ode, written for the occasion by Mr. Lewis Morris, and set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, was performed by the Albert Hall Choral Society, aided by a full orchestra. After it was finished, the Queen, assisted by the Prince of Wales and the architect, Mr. Colcutt, laid the first solid block of the building—a piece of granite three tons in weight. Prayers, read by the Primate, followed, after which the surviving Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 presented an Address, congratulating the Queen on the celebration of her Jubilee. Her Majesty then, leaning on the arm of the Prince of Wales, left the pavilion, while the band struck up 'Rule Britannia.' The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute invited speculation as to the future and as to the part which the Monarchy must inevitably play in the evolution of the English-speaking race and the development of their spreading dominion over strange lands and under strange stars. The Institute typified the inheritance of Empire which Englishmen had won during the reign by their toil and their enterprise. As Mr. Morris sang—

To-day we would make free
The millions of their glorious heritage.
Here, Labour crowds in hopeless misery;
There, is unbounded work and ready wage.
The salt breeze calling, stirs our Northern
blood,
Lead we the toilers to their certain goal;
Guide we their feet to where
Is spread, for those who dare,
A happier Britain 'neath an ampler air.

* * * * *

First Lady of our British Race,
'Tis well that with thy peaceful Jubilee
This glorious dream begins to be."

The Imperial Institute was opened by Her Majesty on the 10th of May, 1893. There was a splendid State pageant, with feudatory Princes of India and contingents of Colonial troops in the procession that accompanied the Queen to the building. The Queen and the Royal Family entered the hall at a quarter to one, when the Prince of Wales, as president of the governing body of the Institute, read an address setting forth its object, and stating that all parts of the Empire had contributed to its creation. "The Imperial Institute," he continued, "will be an enduring emblem of the unity of the Empire, and of the common bond of loyalty and affection which makes its people one"; and he concluded with the hope that it would not only be a record of the growth and prosperity of the Empire, but would tend to increase that prosperity by stimulating enterprise and promoting scientific and technical knowledge. In a firm clear voice the Queen declared the Institute open, and this declaration having been repeated by the Prince of Wales, he applied a golden key to a model of the building placed before the Queen's chair, thereby completing an electric current by which the peal of bells in the Queen's Tower was set in joyous motion.

Unfortunately the hopes of the Prince of Wales were not fulfilled. The Royal Colonial Institute had not thought fit to merge its fortunes with the new project; and though all the social influence of the Court was thrown into the scale in favour of the Institute, it has not, even yet, become such a centre of Imperialism as the size of the Institute admits of its being. Only a portion of the building is now reserved for the purposes for which the structure was designed.

In the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee, ten years later, the Prince of Wales took a directing part. The initiation came from him. In an address to the people, dated the 5th of February, he asked that the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign should be marked by "a scheme of permanent benevolence."

The scheme was to raise funds for the endowment of the London hospitals; but divisions of opinion in the hospital world prevented the expectations of the Prince from being fully realised, though very large sums were raised, and the net effect was to place the finance of the hospitals on a better foundation. From all parts of the country proposals were made, both local and national, for celebrating the sixtieth year of the reign. In a communication to the Press, on the 12th of January, the Prince of Wales said that Her Majesty could not give any opinion on them, but would "readily appreciate any undertaking which may be the outcome of the wish of the people." He felt assured that "on considering the various suggestions, due support would be given to works of mercy among the sick and suffering, and to anything which tended to brighten the lives and ameliorate the condition of Her Majesty's poorer subjects." In this spirit the nation approached the Diamond Jubilee, which was made the occasion for an outflow of generosity for innumerable charitable objects throughout the Empire.

Politically the second Jubilee was an epochal demonstration of Imperial feeling. In the comprehensive expression of this Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, took a conspicuous part. At the invitation of the Cabinet the Premiers of the self-governing

colonies were invited to London for the celebration, and to meet there in conference with the Imperial Government on subjects of common concern to the Empire as a whole. The invitations were accepted with cordial alacrity, and arrangements were also made for contingents of troops from each self-governing state to come to the capital to form part of the Jubilee procession. Many Indian princes were invited, who also sent officers of their native armies to act as escort to the Empress of India. It was the year of the Federation of the Australian Colonies, of the initiation of the Canadian preferential tariff, of the voluntary offer by Cape Colony of a contribution to the Imperial Navy—matters to which attention will be given when we come to write of the Colonial Conferences in London before and during the reign of King Edward. Throughout the Empire the Diamond Jubilee was made to express the essential unity of the British territories and peoples, and to concentrate the thoughts of Her Majesty's subjects on the growing need of readjusting and perfecting inter-Imperial relations for the better security of the Empire against rival States, whether in war or in commerce. It was something far more than commemorating the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's accession; it was the visual embodiment, in a great State pageant in the capital, of the Imperial idea which was stirring in the minds of her subjects here and oversea. It was early seen that the celebration would be on a scale far surpassing that of 1887, and Her Majesty wisely decided to prolong the route of the procession by going to a service at St. Paul's instead of at Westminster Abbey; but, on account of her age and the difficulty



Photo: W. & D. Downey.

QUEEN VICTORIA: THE DIAMOND JUBILEE PHOTOGRAPH.

of ascending the long flight of steps to the Cathedral, it was arranged that the service should be held outside the edifice. To the great joy of the people the Queen agreed to pass through the City after the service, and cross the Thames into the Borough, returning to Buckingham Palace via Westminster Bridge. The Colonial Premiers were entertained at luncheons and banquets on their arrival in this country, and there was a flood of patriotic and Imperialist oratory. Queen Victoria, who had passed the spring in the South of France, returned to Windsor in May, and the succeeding weeks were full of interest and excitement for London as detachment after detachment of Colonial troops arrived—Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, Indians, Hausas from West Africa, negroes from the West Indies, Dyaks from Borneo. Never had any capital in the world seen a more motley, and none so significant an assembly of fighting men. The official celebrations began at Windsor on the night of the 19th of June, a Saturday, when the garrison of the Castle gave a military tattoo in the Grand Quadrangle. The Queen remained at Windsor, but the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family, with the Colonial Premiers and other distinguished persons, attended a Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's Cathedral, London. A like service was held in Westminster Abbey, which was attended by the Peers in their robes, and the Speaker led the House of Commons in procession to a Thanksgiving at St. Margaret's. Special services were also held at the dissenting and Roman Catholic places of worship, as well as in those of the Church of England. In every Christian church in the land—and not here

alone, but also throughout the Empire—a service of heartfelt thanksgiving was offered by dense congregations, and preachers innumerable used all the arts of oratory to emphasise the religious aspect of the occasion. The Queen came to London—a London transformed by lavish decoration—on the 21st of June, and along the route from Paddington station to Buckingham Palace she passed through an immense concourse which gave her a lusty welcome. Meanwhile both Houses of Parliament resounded with ornate oratory in support of an Address of Congratulation to the Sovereign. An unnumbered host remained out all night to secure places along the line of route, and as dawn advanced the streets presented scenes of ever-growing animation. There were some forty-six thousand troops and bluejackets detailed for duty along the line of route. The people were as the sands of the sea. Never had so vast a throng gathered in the capital—in any capital—to see a Sovereign pass. Just before setting out from Buckingham Palace on the 22nd the Queen greeted her subjects with a message which was flashed forthwith throughout her dominions. "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them." Then at a quarter to eleven o'clock a start was made—up Constitution Hill, down Piccadilly and St. James's Street, along Pall Mall to Charing Cross and the Strand, and thus through Fleet Street to Ludgate Hill and the Cathedral. A contemporary writer thus described the procession:—

"The object of the Jubilee being to advance the Imperial idea, the first procession consisted of the Colonial troops and the Colonial Premiers. It was headed by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts carrying his



Photo: Russell.

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE THANKSGIVING SERVICE OUTSIDE ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

bâton and mounted on an old grey charger. The Canadian Hussars, 2nd Canadian Dragoons, and Mounted Police preceded Sir Wilfrid Laurier—as he had become—whose clear-cut, intellectual face had already grown familiar to many thousands. Next to the Canadian Premier, Mr. Seddon secured, perhaps, the heartiest reception, which he evidently appreciated to the full. The worst of it was that the eye had barely time to take in that splendid pageant of Victoria Mounted Rifles clad in khaki-coloured uniforms with maroon facings and picturesque slouch hats, of Queensland Rifles with buff-coloured uniforms and scarlet facings, the mounted troops from the Crown colonies, and the contingents of Colonial infantry, including native police from Borneo and British Guiana, Chinese police from Hong-Kong, and Cingalese artillery and infantry, with the famous Coldstreams bringing up the rear. The procession, which took twenty minutes to pass a given point, accomplished its journey without a hitch and lined up round St. Paul's, Lord Roberts standing forward to take the salutes. At no long interval came the Queen's procession, headed by the tallest man in the British Army, Captain Ames, of the 2nd Life Guards. The stately and splendid display swept past—dragoons, lancers, hussars, batteries of guns, and bands on horseback; with nodding plumes, waving pennants, flashing armour, and glistening swords, making a most brilliant *coup d'œil*. Among the aides-de-camp to the Queen, Lord Charles Beresford was received with a roar of welcome, and the veteran Field-Marshal, Sir Lintorn Simmonds and Sir Donald Stewart, were hardly less popular. The carriages of the foreign envoys rolled past, full of august personages in gorgeous

array, though somewhat incongruously mixed, as when the special representative of the Pope found himself face to face with the special representative of the Emperor of China. The Princesses filled eight carriages, and the crowd had barely finished cheering the little daughters of Princess Henry of Battenberg before it welcomed the smiling Duchess of Teck, just recovered from the dangerous disease, a recurrence of which later proved fatal. The most picturesque portion of the procession was the cavalcade of English and foreign Princes and the native officers of the Indian cavalry regiments, among whom was conspicuous the martial form of Sir Pertab Singh. After Lord Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief, came the Queen's State carriage, containing Her Majesty, looking exceedingly well and happy, the Princess of Wales and Princess Christian. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke of Connaught accompanied it on horseback. The field-officers' escort of the 2nd Life Guards, and the Standard, and the great officers and equerries followed. Some Royal Irish Constabulary and a squadron of Royal Horse Guards ended off the procession."

London was brilliantly illuminated that night; there were public rejoicings in the tiniest hamlet and the remotest Colonial settlement, and from Land's End to John o' Groats beacon fires—2,500 in all—gave vivid token of national rejoicing. There were many festivities, among the more notable a dinner given, in the name of the Princess of Wales, to 300,000 poor people. The Lord Mayor of London gave a luncheon at the Mansion House to the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Colonial Premiers, and

on the 26th of June the foreign and Colonial visitors were taken to Spithead to witness a mightier fleet than had ever ridden the seas in the history of the world. On the 1st of July there was a grand review at Aldershot, nearly thirty thousand troops marching past the Sovereign, the place of honour being assigned to the Colonial and Indian contingents. The Prince of Wales rode at the head of his regiment, the 10th Hussars, the venerable Duke of Cambridge at the head of the Grenadiers, and the Duke of Connaught led the Scots Guards. The march past over, the Royal salute was given, and the Army, bareheaded and waving bonnets, busbies, and helmets, cheered the aged Sovereign with such enthusiasm that she could not conceal her emotion. On the next day the Queen specially inspected the Colonial troops at Windsor, and on the 3rd of July entertained the members of the House of Commons, and many other guests, at a garden party at Windsor Castle. She had borne the excitement and fatigue of the Jubilee week remarkably well. That she was deeply touched by the affection of her people she showed by a personal letter of thanks. It was written from Windsor Castle, and dated the 15th of July :—

“ I have frequently expressed my personal feelings to my people ; and though on this memorable occasion there have been many official expressions of my deep sense of the unbounded loyalty evinced, I cannot rest satisfied without personally giving utterance to these sentiments.

“ It is difficult for me on this occasion to say how deeply touched and grateful I am for the spontaneous and universal outburst of loyal attachment and real

affection which I have experienced on the completion of the sixtieth year of my reign.

“ During my progress through London on the 22nd of June this great enthusiasm was shown in the most striking manner, and can never be effaced from my heart.

“ In weal and woe I have ever had the true sympathy of all my people, which has been warmly reciprocated by myself.

“ It is indeed deeply gratifying, after so many years of labour and anxiety for the good of my beloved country, to find that my exertions have been appreciated throughout my vast Empire.

“ It has given me unbounded pleasure to see so many of my subjects from all parts of the world assembled here, and to find them joining in the acclamations of loyal devotion to myself, and I wish to thank them all from the depth of my grateful heart.

“ I shall ever pray God to bless them and to enable me still to discharge my duties for their welfare as long as life lasts.

“ VICTORIA R.I.”

Events of tragic import and tremendous political significance were to darken the last years of the Queen's life. The Jubilee week of glorious pageantry and enthusiasm was followed by a series of personal sorrows and public misfortunes. War on the north-west frontier of India was succeeded by war in the Soudan, with all its risks of war with France. Scarcely had these complications been arranged than affairs in South Africa marched swiftly to the bloodshed that had been made inevitable by the conspiracy to overthrow the Transvaal Government, and the stubborn pugnacity of both Boer

and British negotiators. The aged Queen was bowed down by public anxieties. She lost gradually that masterful control over the affairs of her Empire which had distinguished her Sovereignty. The world-wide troubles of 1898 and 1899 culminated in a year of profound gloom. She was eighty-one when successive disasters in South Africa and jealous hostility abroad seemed to threaten the downfall of the Empire. It is notorious that she deplored the war in South Africa, and was deeply grieved by the miseries and anxieties it brought. Her wonderful constitution enabled her to resist the strain. Aged as she was, with the sorrows of several deaths within her own family circle to bear, as well as deepening public anxieties, she waited with resolute patience for brighter days. These were happily vouchsafed to her. She had the satisfaction of knowing that the dangers of foreign intervention in South Africa had passed, and that the ultimate success of our arms in that quarter of the world was assured. At the height of the national crisis she drove through London and paid a visit to Dublin. Apparently she was in her usual health. Certainly she showed an unwonted activity during 1900, but it was activity of a kind that would have exhausted the vitality of a much younger woman. In addition there were heavy personal griefs—the death of Duke Alfred of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, her second son; of her eldest daughter, the Empress Frederick; of Prince Christian Victor, her favourite grandson; of her beloved cousin, the Duchess of Teck; of her oldest and most intimate friend, Dowager Lady Churchill. The list is by no means complete. But she toiled on, shirking no duty, doing

much personal work that might have been left undone, especially spending her energies of mind and body in acts of solicitude for her Army in the field and for those at home who had been bereaved. As late as the 15th of December, at Windsor Castle, she conferred the Victoria Cross on five heroes of the war. Three days after she issued a personal message to the Yeomanry, Volunteers, and Colonial soldiers at the front, expressing her grateful thanks for their services, and hoping that she might soon welcome them home. Then she went to Osborne and spent the Christmas; but we find her visiting the wounded soldiers and sailors in a convalescent home at East Cowes. On the 2nd of January, 1901, she received Lord Roberts, home from Pretoria with the news that the war was “practically over,” and heard from him a reassuring account of the prospects of its termination. Conferring upon him an Earldom and the Badge of the Garter, she received him twelve days later to confer with him further about the war. On the 15th she took her usual daily drive. Apparently all was well. It was the last drive. On Friday night, the 18th, the *Court Circular* contained the following note:—

“The Queen has not lately been in her usual health, and is unable for the present to take her customary drives.

“The Queen, during the past year, has had a great strain upon her powers which has rather told upon Her Majesty’s nervous system. It has therefore been thought advisable by Her Majesty’s physicians that the Queen should be kept perfectly quiet in the house, and should abstain for the present from transacting business.”



ALBERT EDWARD IN THE YEAR OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE.

Photo: Russell.

Saturday's bulletin confirmed the fears of the nation. Sunday's report gave no hope of recovery. "The life of the nation," says the writer of "Cassell's History of England," "was hushed as it held its breath in dread anxiety and suspense while it awaited Monday morning's news. There were gathered at Osborne the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princesses Christian, Louise, and Henry of Battenberg, and the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The significance of this assembly was not fully realised at the time, but could be estimated later on when it transpired that since early in January the Queen had been subject to 'transient but recurring symptoms of apathy and torpor,' which had caused great uneasiness. The Duke of Connaught, at Berlin, was hastily summoned by telegram. The German Emperor accompanied him—an act of filial duty and affection that won for him the heart-felt appreciation of the Empire.

"The Prince of Wales left Osborne on Sunday to meet his brother and the Emperor, with whom he returned the next morning, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of York and the Duchess of Connaught. Monday's bulletin revived hope, announcing a slight rally. In the evening improvement was maintained, food having been taken, and some sleep secured.

"But it was a fleeting gleam of hope. On Tuesday morning Her Majesty's strength had diminished. At noon she was just able to recognise the several members of the Royal Family. In the early afternoon she fell asleep, but at half-past three there were signs of a relapse, and at four o'clock it was apparent she was slowly sinking. Her family gathered round her. The solemn moments passed. The short winter twilight darkened, and night crept on—the unending night. At six the moment was very near. In the hushed chamber of death the Bishop of Winchester prayed in low accents as the Royal mourners knelt beside the low couch. It is said that once again Her Majesty recognised those around her. And then, at half-past six of the clock, on the 22nd of January, the end came—absolutely peaceful and painless."

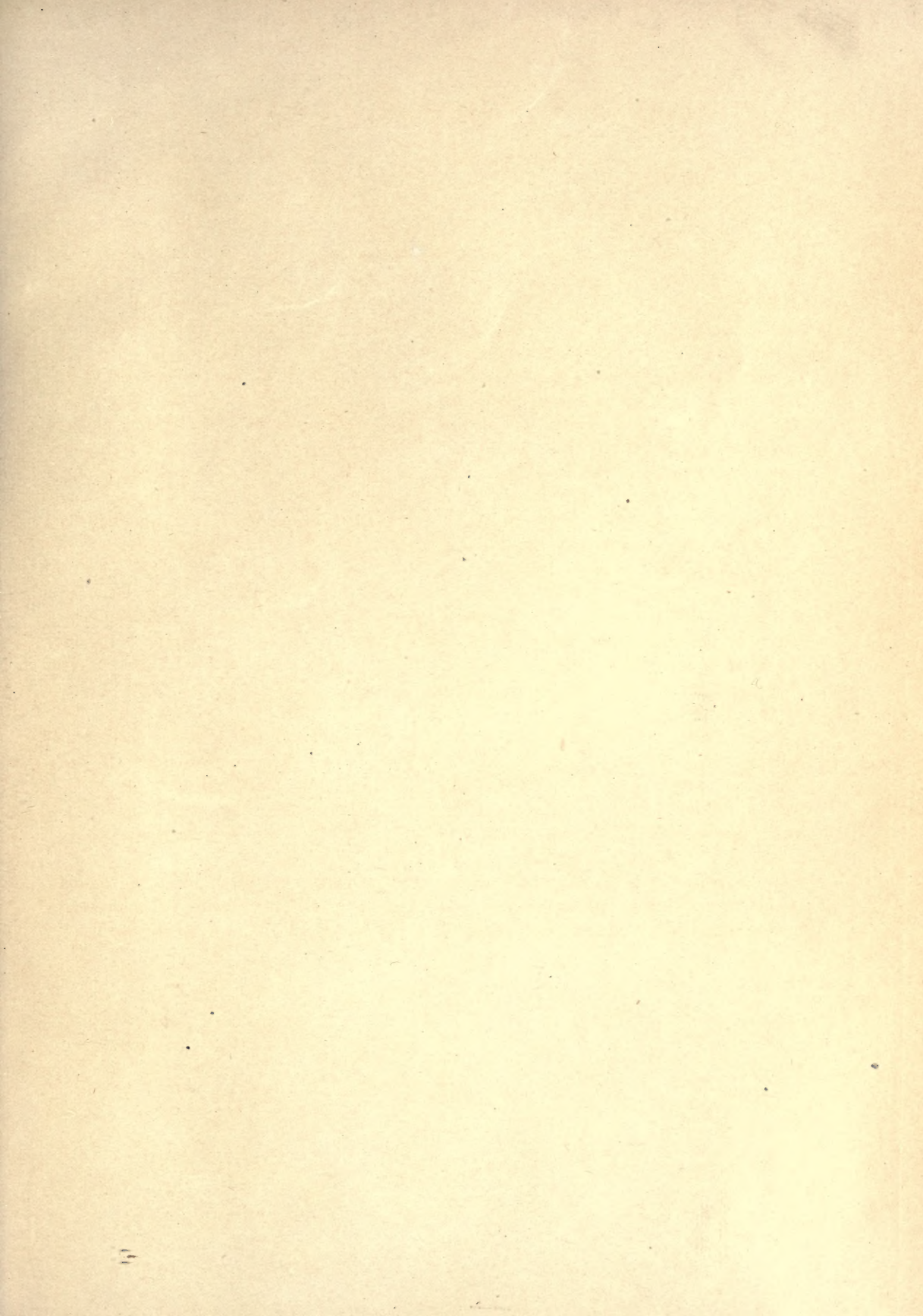
The new Sovereign announced the fact to the Empire in a brief and pathetic message:—

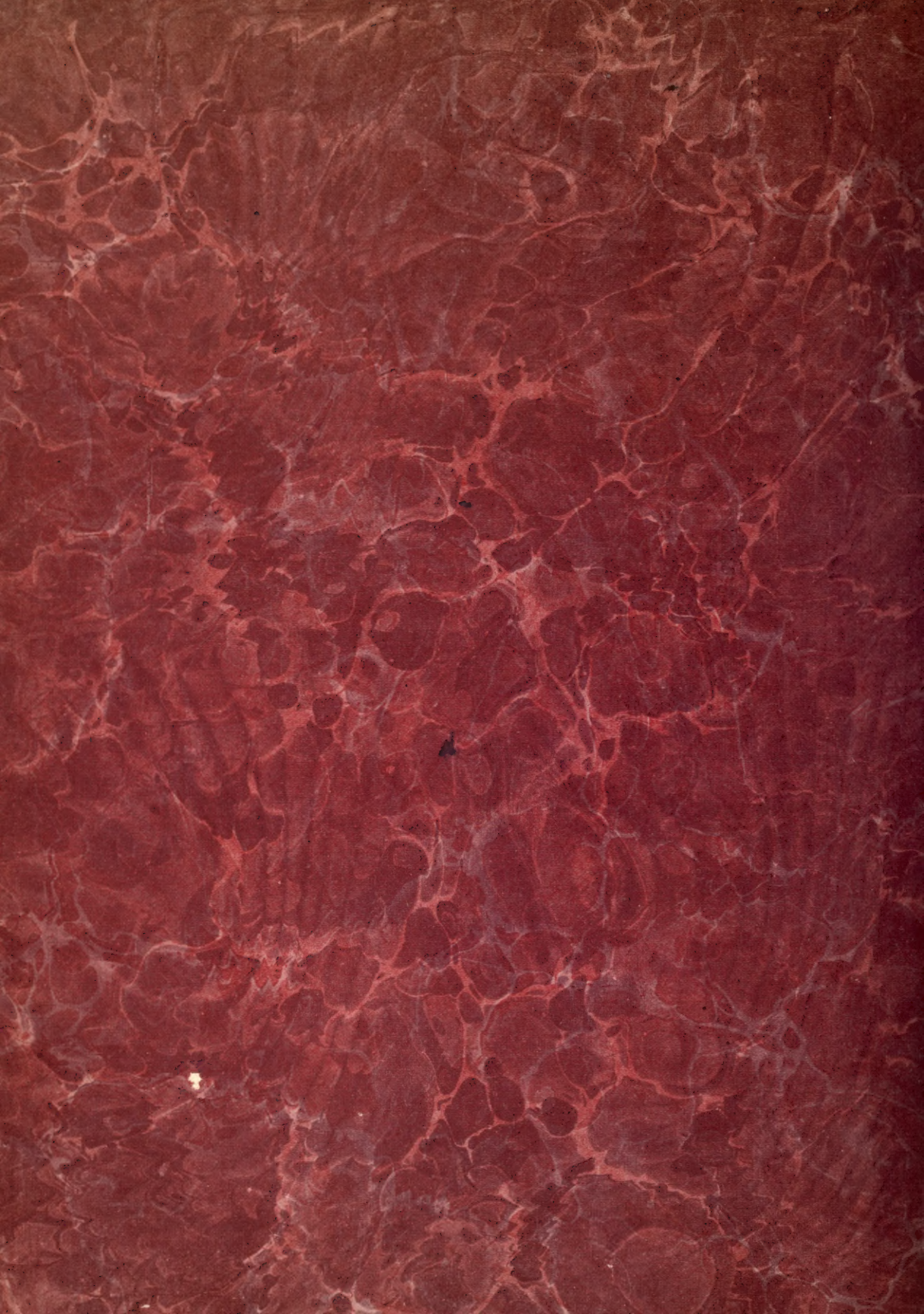
"My beloved mother, the Queen, has just passed away surrounded by her children and grandchildren.

"Osborne, Tuesday, 6.45 p.m.

"ALBERT EDWARD."

The long reign of Victoria had ended; the short reign of Edward VII. had begun—amid a sorrow too deep for words.





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